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Dissertation

ATTITUDES TOWARD FOREIGNERS REFLECTED IN ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

by

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Preface

Determining "the attitude toward foreigners as reflected in the drama of Shakespeare and his fellow dramatists" as a title may sound very ambitious and grandiose, but the supporting analyses are attempted with full realization of the inadequacies and limitations which naturally restrict the efforts of the writer who is, after all, merely a devoted student of the literature from the greatest period of English drama.

This work was inspired by a desire to discover what representatives of alien nations Shakespeare and his fellows must have known, and how the treatment of these aliens may have formed a part of the topicality of the drama. The search for such information involved a close examination of a portion of the history of the period as well as an analysis of particular phases of the drama.

The general tone is keyed to an intention to take Shakespearean dramatists "at their word" rather than to give too great credence to romanticized interpretations, dogma, and convenient manipulations to suit modern attitudes which are not always based on proper semantic interpretations.

The primary purpose, specifically stated, is to attempt to determine more exactly the status of foreigners in Elizabethan England, utilizing, wherever possible, the drama of the period as a thermometer of public opinion.

A secondary objective is to present evidence of racial prejudice, favorable and unfavorable, found in Elizabethan drama,

which may throw light upon similar modern attitudes and their sources in English-speaking countries.

Some indication of scope, method, and materials is contained in the title, The Attitude toward Foreigners Reflected in Elizabethan Drama: The term, "Elizabethan Drama," is used here in a more narrow sense to indicate works completed in that portion of the Elizabethan Era from 1587, or about the time of the appearance of Marlowe's¹ Tamburlaine Part I, to 1617, just one year after the death of Shakespeare. The chief concern here is with the attitude of the English as reflected in the dramatic works in that period of about thirty years. This period was decided upon for two reasons: (the first, it is during these years that the Age of Elizabeth grew to its greatest prosperity and began to taper off with the deaths of Essex (1601), Queen Elizabeth (1603), and Shakespeare (1616); the second, Elizabethan drama reached its height of development from Marlowe to Ben Jonson, with Shakespeare's work crowning gloriously the apex of that development.

Any attempt to confine references for analysis and general discussion rigidly within this period proved inconvenient, for

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1. Spencer, Hazelton, Elizabethan Plays, p.5
Introductory note to Tamburlaine Part I:

"The production of Tamburlaine, Part I, probably in 1587-88, definitely inaugurated the earlier of the two great ages of British drama. Never before had first-rate genius been devoted to the making of an English play. When Shakespeare came to London, a few years later, he found a highly imaginative drama, bold and passionate, and couched in a ringing blank verse, in possession of the boards. In his tragedies and histories he applied himself to perfecting what Marlowe had begun."

there were found contributory and resultant factors directly relating to the material of the principal area of dissertation. However, a special effort was made to avoid any over-emphasis of all that may be properly labeled extraneous.

In the first chapter, major interest is centered about the historical background of sixteenth century England. An attempt is made to determine, historically, just what foreign peoples were actually present in Elizabethan England. Moreover, there appeared an additional phase of interest in recorded annals which seemed to justify further research in an effort to discover just how "foreign" were the aliens who were present. In this regard, the fact was brought into consideration that the Irish, Scotch, and Welsh are rather closely related to the English through strains of common ancestry.

The presence of these various aliens in Shakespeare's England being established, the next problem was to find out whether or not the drama reflected enough of the life of the times to clarify, in any respect, the question of how such peoples were treated or what position in English life they occupied. Here a problem appeared in the fact that several prominent critics state quite definitely that no such thing as topicality↓

1. The term, "topicality", appeared as early as 1656: "Hence topicality, the quality of being topical; (an instance of this, a topical allusion...1904--Longmans Magazine, November, p.93, 'The Beck case gives the subject a curious topicality.'" Oxford Dictionary (unabridged). The term is also defined in Webster's (unabridged) Dictionary: "The quality of being topical, especially of immediate interest only."--Merriam, 1936.

exists in Elizabethan drama, and least of all in the works of Shakespeare. This point of view forced a compilation of evidence to the contrary, supporting a theory of the existence of topicality, not only in the works of Shakespeare, but in those of his contemporary dramatists as well. In brief, the second section attempts to establish, quickly and concisely, the reality of reflections of Elizabethan life-and-times in the drama. If these "reflections" should not exist, there would be no purpose in the remainder of the work to follow.

Proceeding on the assumption of an acceptance of the theory of topicality, the succeeding four chapters deal with each separate alien group. Foreigners are grouped in accordance with the English attitude which appears to be indicated by the drama. Any such arrangement is bound to be more or less arbitrary, for public opinion in the England of Shakespeare appears to have been quite divergent. Since, however, the temper of the times did range from a rather intense hatred to slight admiration, in regard to immigrants, the grouping here also follows this pattern, roughly, from Spanish alien to Italian. Each of the four separate "attitudes" listed may seem to require an explanation. A "preface" at the beginning of each such division serves the purpose of this explanation and makes it convenient to include racial groups of minor interest here--representatives of alien peoples seldom mentioned and appearing but seldom in the dramatis personae of Elizabethan plays.

Sections of chapters II-V are organized as follows: (a) historical facts further and specifically establishing the presence of aliens in England; (b) catalog of allusions; (c) attitudes determined--theoretically--through an analysis of statements in the plays or topical significance in time or frequency of presentation;¹ (d) summary and conclusions. This is the general outline of each of these separate chapters.

Chapter XVII contains generalizations and conclusions, in addition to a comparison of attitudes in English-speaking countries then and now.

Every important statement is intended to be authenticated, as far as the present writer is able to find authoritative material relative to the subject involved. This list of scholars, writers, historians, and their works comprises the bibliography which appears at the end of this work.

Briefly, the work to follow is divided into three parts--beginning, middle, and end: The beginning presents the historical background; the middle treats with history and drama; the end is concerned primarily with the drama, especially with the influence of certain attitudes in Elizabethan drama which appear in a more advanced state of development in the drama of a later era.

The topic, attitudes in Elizabethan drama, has been examined by a number of critics. However, the principal claim to any

1. The Jew of Malta, for example, was extremely popular and often was played during the time of the Lopez incident. This circumstance tends to reveal the intensity of Elizabethan prejudice at that time.

"difference," or to any distinction in this present work, is based upon occasional additions, more detailed analyses in some instances, cataloguing and comparisons of many varying view points. No claim is made to any absolute discovery in a world of literature, where there is hardly--and literally--"anything new under the sun."

In illustration of the preceding admission, acknowledgment is hereby tendered to Creizenach, Stoll, Charlton, Hume and others for the use of their presentations and opinions on the Elizabethan attitude toward Jews. Such critics confined their analyses principally to Shakespeare. Creizenach draws his opinions--never in detail--from several of the other Elizabethans. Harries presents The Welsh and Shakespeare: Barton, The Irish and Shakespeare: Hume treats the Spanish aliens; but very few of the critics have delved deep into the question of attitudes, and seldom do they go beyond Shakespeare. Other nationalities in addition to those just mentioned receive even a more superficial treatment, and this statement is meant to include Shakespearean Black Folks, in spite of the familiar topic of Othello's racial origin. There is much the critics have left undone which this dissertation attempts to do, in part, at least, in view of the foregoing observations.

To the directors of this research project, Professors Winslow H. Loveland and Irving H. White, belongs the credit for any merit this work may ever be considered to deserve.

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

1. Some Aspects of the Historical Background of Elizabethan Drama

In dealing with a literary problem which involves the history of foreigners in Elizabethan England and the reflection of the influence of their presence in the drama, a swift glance at the English racial background seems to be an essential first-step. G. B. Harrison says, "A serious student of Shakespeare's plays cannot neglect the national background..."¹ In this case the major problem involves more of the Elizabethan drama than the work of Shakespeare and includes any reflection of attitudes toward alien races. With these facts in mind, it appears that "the national background" should extend to the very beginning of English racial history. In this way, any evidence of kinship with the aliens might possibly throw light upon problems of determining their reception and position in English life.

Evidences² point to prehistoric Britain--now England, Wales, and Scotland--as being inhabited by a race which knew the use of stone implements only. These Neolithic inhabitants--generally called Iberians--were not the oldest people of the islands. Before their time there were the Palaeolithic Man and the people of the Great Ice Age. Excavations of the long barrows where they buried their dead reveal a race short of stature, with rather long-shaped heads. They were probably of dark complexion with black hair.²

1. Harrison, B. G., in A Companion to Shakespeare Studies, by Granville-Barker, Harrison, Macmillan; Cambridge, 1937, p.186

2. The Encyclopedia Americana, vol. 13, pp. 174,5,6

Next there came to Britain two more racial groups, both of them tall and fair-haired. These were the Celtic bronze-makers and the Bryothonic--from which Britain gets its name--users of iron. The Celts were called "Gael," or "Goidels," generally, and the influence of their presence made its greatest impression in the north, in the Scottish highlands and in Ireland.

The Bryothonic wave occupied the lower, or southern half of Britain where the Romans landed years later, and it is their language which the Welsh have carefully preserved to cherish dearly as their own unadulterated speech.¹ These two movements were not exactly concurrent, but they had been completed at least a hundred years or more before Christ's birth. These were the peoples of Britain--the barbarians--who fought the Romans and checked their advances for many years. Never was the Roman influence as strong beyond what is now the southern boundary of Scotland or in the country inhabited by the stubborn, strong, hardy and war-like Welsh. Fifty-five B.C. marked the beginning of Roman influence; 407 A.D. marked the end of Roman rule.

After the Romans in the fifth century, there came three tribes of Low German stock from the Baltic and North Sea shores. They were the Jutes, Angles and Saxons. The Jutes settled in Kent and on the Isle of Wight; South Saxons in (as they named it) Sussex; East Saxons in Essex; West Saxons in Hampshire and Wilts; the East Angles in Norfolk and Suffolk, while the Middle Angles founded the central kingdom of Mercia. Two other Anglian settlements, Deira and Bernicia

1. Harries, Fred. J., Shakespeare and the Welsh, p.97

merged into Northumbria.

From the Welsh ecclesiastic, Gildas, comes the story of the coming of the Jutes, Angles and Saxons. His story, not entirely authenticated, tends to point out that the Britons left in England by their Roman conquerors were subjected to many assaults and raids by the barbarous northern and Irish Picts and Scots. The hard-pressed Britons called on their continental kindred for help; the tribes answered the call and never again left the land they came to aid.

The principal part of this movement is known as The Saxon Conquest, and the most prominent leaders were Cerdic, his grandson Ceawlin who won the battle of Deorham (577), and Offa. King Offa (eighth century) pushed the English western boundary from the Severn to the Wye and with Offa's Dyke, fixed the dividing line between England and Wales. He got no further, and the conquest of Wales was left for Edward I in the thirteenth century.

From the seventh century through the tenth there was much fighting among the tribes of Angles and Saxons. However, the Danish Invasion caused them to unite under the rule of Alfred the Great (871-900), the period of his struggles and his descendants. The Danes, of Norway as well as Denmark, were heathen and they destroyed many English churches during their early raids. This sacrilege horrified the inhabitants and hastened their uniting.

In spite of the successful battles waged against their permanent settlement in England, the English (the term "English" came

into use about this time) blood became well mixed with Scandinavian, in the course of time. Danish inhabitants remained under English kings until finally a Danish king, Canute, occupied the throne. The reign of this Christian king was both long and prosperous.

In 1018, Scottish King Malcolm, at the battle of Carham, forced the English back to their own frontier, from the Firth of Forth to the present boundary of the Cheviots and the Tweed.

Edward the Confessor, who followed not many years after Canute, encouraged a peaceful Norman invasion, but this developed into a might armed conquest culminating in the bloody battle of Hastings in 1066. King Harold was killed and William the Conqueror proceeded to set up Norman rule. William is generally looked upon as a typical Norman; he was a "chaste, temperate statesman and diplomat."¹ If this may be accepted as truth, the new invaders had much to offer in the way of national advancement for the English.

The Norman Conquest severed forever the centuries-old, closely-knit, Scandinavian ties, and linked England with the Latin-speaking races of Western Europe. October 14, 1066, the date of the Battle of Hastings, marks the last successful invasion attempt in English history. Although Norman and Englishman lived side by side for many years, there was gradual disappearance of this separateness of the races. The French-speaking Normans were the ruling class, but they all eventually became as "English as the people they governed."¹

1. The Encyclopedia Americana, pp. 174-184

W. Cunningham¹ offers a well-balanced account of the times immediately following the Norman Invasion. His account is of special interest here because of his particular method of factual organization and because of his special treatment of the matter of alien immigration. In summary, his work in this regard appears:

The Norman Invasion is generally considered as the first, last and most important invasion of aliens into England. That importance is emphasized;

"If we estimate its influence in another fashion, its importance is equally striking: the immigrants of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries introduced some new arts, and were an interesting factor in our industrial prosperity; but their coming had very little bearing on our political development; on the other hand, the men who accompanied and followed William the Conqueror left their mark on every side of our national life. At the later date the constitution was fixed and the national habits and character were formed; it was not easy to mould them; but at the earlier time the social and political life of England was so primitive that it was comparatively easy to affect and direct its development."²

Foreigners were attracted to England in the eleventh century because of the undeveloped wealth of natural resources, opportunities of trade and industry, and military and mercantile employment. With William there came not only Normans, but Picards, Burgundians and many people of other nations. The Flemings especially were glad to migrate because of frequent inundations of their low homeland. Religious ties between England and the continent were already existent; geographical location, involving the proximity of the Low Countries, Denmark, and Scandinavia, was responsible for the

1. Cunningham, W., Alien Immigrants in England, p.17

2. Ibid., p.17

heterogeneity of the followers of William the Conqueror. Inter-marriage of islanders and continentals was not uncommon even before 1066.

William's invasion was a costly undertaking. His army had to be furnished with maintenance and transportation which were supplied by faithful followers. Such persons were necessarily to be rewarded--at the expense of the conquered, of course. Leaders were placed as tenants in all strategic and productive sections of the country. There followed occasional rebellions among the Anglo-Saxons; northward and westward the Schtch and Welsh were ever restive. Military colonies were established to maintain strong centralized governmental control. Among these colonies were those at Chester, Durham, and Carlisle. William began the building of many great castles of stone, to replace the old wooden structures he had found. These "fortresses" were erected in carefully selected positions. To man the many defensive posts, and to support both sides of every rebellion, mercenary soldiers from countries abroad poured into England during the reign of William.

At various times, the Normans and their mercenary followers left England to settle in Wales, Ireland or Scotland. In times of hostility between these countries and England, expatriates of this type were often against the country of their first adoption. This situation forged the first link in the chain which eventually led to an alliance of crowns, an association which finally brought James I to succeed Queen Elizabeth in 1603.

The civil and social status of the many aliens differed in many respects among various races and types of aliens: There were feudal proprietors, artisans, and merchants, as well as hired soldiers. Entire communities were established. In illustration of this circumstance, noteworthy are French towns of Norwich and Nottingham. In some instances aliens lived in special communities or quarters within the cities and towns, as in the case of the Jews. The latter found it necessary to live together for the sake of common safety:

"The increasing hostility of the townspeople, and the constant danger of mob violence, rendered it necessary for them(Jews) to live in houses which might serve as fortresses, and they were generally massed together in a particular quarter. The expulsion under Edward I. deprived these districts of their inhabitants, and only the names survived to designate the parts of the town where Jews had resided."¹

Like the Jews, other alien groups found it convenient to cluster their dwellings. The London guild of weavers and the Winchester guilds of fullers and weavers were organizations resulting from this inclination.

All were not permanent residents of England, for there were merchants specially licensed by the Crown to travel throughout the land and to come and go at will.

The Normans brought the continental municipal set-up based on the organization of the household. They brought the organization of the Exchequer with a mode of reckoning still in use. Together with other aliens they introduced new industrial arts.

The foregoing information from Cunningham covers a period which includes broadly the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Cunningham

begins his account of alien immigration during the next two centuries with this passage:¹

"The Immigrations of aliens, which took place during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were very varied in character; strangers flocked here from distant parts of Europe, as well as from the neighbouring lands, and there were many distinct reasons which attracted them to our island. But for all that, it is convenient to treat the period as a whole; it is distinguished by well-marked features from the age that preceded, and from the period that followed. After the Reformation, the existence of religious differences was one of the main elements which determined the direction taken by the stream of immigration. ...Our land had too long been a prey to Norse adventurers and Flemish mercenaries; but the time for their incursions and ravages, and subsequent settlement, was over; France and Germany were to be in turn the scene of civil war, and to be pillaged by foreign soldiers; even in the Wars of the Roses, there were few military adventurers who found their way across the Channel."

The history of England continues with the story of the British kings after Edward I whose most notable work, perhaps, was the creation of the English Parliament. Against his son, Edward II, Scotland under Bruce won her independence. The Revolution of 1326 brought to Edward II deposition and death. Edward III led England to military glory at Crecy and Poitiers, and he was the first English king to seek command of the seas. This was the Age of Chaucer, Wycliff, and the first successful rebellion against the church; when the flower of chivalry began rapidly to wither, and the Black Death hastened the leveling of society. The grandson of Edward III, Richard II, foiled the peasants in their revolt of 1381, but sought in vain to overthrow the constitutional government. The regime of the House of Lancaster was established in support of a

1. Ibid., pp.65-66

Parliamentary government, and the continuation of the limited monarchy was insured.

Fourteen-hundred and fifty-five marked the beginning of thirty years of civil war, pitting the House of York against the Lancastrian, each declaring that the right to rule was its own through royal kinship. Under Edward IV, York won. Later Lancaster returned to power, represented by the female line of the Welsh House of Tudor, but with the change there came a continuation of the policy of a strong monarchy as had been advocated by Edward IV.

By this time, medievalism of society, church and politics had worn itself out. The middle classes had grown in number and in power, and now maintained a higher standard of living. The Reformation and then the Renaissance opened a new chapter of English history.

Thus at the time of Shakespeare, the English race had felt no great infusion of newblood since the Norman Conquest. Into the English racial melting pot there had been poured strains of the race of dark-haired and small, early Britons; the classic-featured Romans; the tall, fair-haired Celtic and Brythonic peoples, and then the proud, brave, handsome and auburn-haired Normans. Westward, the Welsh remained as nearly Brythonic as possible; northward, the Celtic Scotch and Gaelic Irish continued to fight off English influence even as their ancestors and resisted Roman domination.

This rapid survey has now reached the Era in English History which is the principal concern of this work.

Harrison combines the religious, economic, and political aspects of the times in his "National Background"¹ of the Elizabethan Age: (in summary)

There are many mistakenly romantic notions of the Era. This misjudgment is often made because it has been too easy to judge the generation by the "exceptional" rather than the average of the men and their works. Much of the literature of the period makes very tiresome reading and a consideration of the actions and motives reveals that the essentials of English character have remained practically unchanged til this day.

No newspapers existed; rumor and gossip swept the country. Panic and riots by apprentices and masterless men were quite common. From the Court, taverns, theatres and law courts came the principal items of news; however, strict censorship prohibited any discussion of higher matters of state.

Theatres were looked upon unfavorably by certain groups, especially the business men who considered them as hindrances to trade because apprentices wasted their afternoons there. The drama often made sport of notables or meddled with matters of state thereby attracting the disfavor of governmental authorities as well as other prominent persons. The Common Council of the city saw the theatres as unsanitary places of immorality, whence disease and rioting would very likely be often to spread. These also were Puritan views, and this probably accounts for the fact that Puritans did not fare well at the hands of the playwrights.

1. Harrison, B. G., in A Companion to Shakespeare Studies by H. Granville-Barker and G. B. Harrison, pp. 163-186

The great war with Spain formed the background for Elizabethan drama from 1587 (with Marlowe's Tamburlaine) to 1603 (with Hamlet). In 1588 came the destruction of the Spanish Armada. The ensuing years saw English naval and military units at war in Portugal, Spain, France and Holland. News of another great Spanish fleet threw the country into a panic again in 1596, and men were impressed from the church services at Easter Communion; but this fleet was scattered by a storm just short of its goal.

Fighting with Spain continued, and especially in Holland did the Spanish offer strong opposition. Meanwhile, the Irish were fighting to cast off the English yoke. Wars with Ireland were extremely costly.¹ Military glory began to lose most of its glitter and the general attitude, according to Harrison, is reflected by Shakespeare in Falstaff's parody of Hotspur's conception of honor (I Henry IV, v.1.)

Long wars, reverses, and attendant burdens on the populace led to social and religious unrest. In the absence of political parties, social views were expressed through the three principal forms of religion, The Anglican Church, Catholic and Puritan. Catholics and Puritans looked upon the state-governed church as anti-Christian; when Queen Elizabeth was excommunicated in 1570, there were many doubts as to whether Catholics would bear arms in her defense. Strife continued between various religious orders,

1. Ibid., footnote, p. 170: "This Irish Expedition-comparing population and national finances--was a greater military effort than the despatch of the Expeditionary Force in 1914."

especially the Seculars against the Jesuits. There was the fear that Catholics would stir up trouble for England abroad, and that the Puritans would start a social revolution at home. In the latter respect, Puritanism appealed to the large merchant classes, for one reason at least, because it was best for business.

The question of the Succession caused unrest and anxiety in all quarters. Mary, Queen of Scots was eliminated in 1587; the aspiring Essex, stepson of Leicester, in 1601 was removed, leaving James of Scotland in line for the throne. He was named to succeed Elizabeth by the Queen herself, shortly after the time when she began to realize her growing weakness and senility.

The new king was popular with no faction of the church, government, or the people with the exception of stage players. In spite of their fun-poking and satirizing--even of the king himself--they became royal favorites.

At this point, which is the conclusion of his discussion on the "National Background," Harrison's statements concerning King James and the actors lead into the question of topicality, or the reflection of that background in the drama. His inference that there are those who doubt the existence of any such topicality serves as partial justification for the presentation to follow shortly on several varying view points on this rather important topic:¹

"The problems of the individual were inseparable from the problems of State..The picture of a Shakespeare magnificently aloof from life..does not square either with the facts or with Shakespeare's own comment on his art. Besides, the purpose and

1. Ibid., page 186

end of playing, 'both at the first and now, was and is to hold, as t'were, the mirror up to nature; to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure.'" (Hamlet to Polonius)

Several aspects of the "Social Background"¹ are presented by M. St. Clare Byrne following Harrison's treatment of the "National Background." The question of topicality is touched upon at the very beginning: "...the background of life in the plays is, and at the same time is not, the background of Elizabethan life. The writer states a belief that the works of minor Elizabethan dramatists often serve better illustrative purposes than the works of Shakespeare, whose topicality is so subtle that it seems to appear by accident or, at least, the very slightest intention. Examples are cited to illustrate a point that the people of the drama are highly romanticized and not true to contemporary life, especially in the case of noblemen represented. The nobility were in reality surrounded by too many gentlemen and ladies-in-waiting to participate in the various menial activities to which Shakespeare subjected his Earls and even Queen Elizabeth. No king--according to Byrne--could have been murdered as easily as was Duncan, nor could even the most noble Earl of the realm gain access to the sovereign as easily as did Hamlet, Macbeth or Essex. These instances from Shakespeare seem to reveal either a lack of knowledge of how the nobility lived or a manipulation (unlikely) of situation and character for dramatic purposes; however, the writer admits that Shakespeare's knowledge of

1. Byrne, A Companion to Shakespeares Studies

the gentle life increased with the dramatist's advancement and his association with the nobility.

Byrne next concedes, with many supporting instances as evidence, that clothing, accessories, food, drink, and furniture are Elizabethan, and that the scene of nearly all Shakespearean drama is simply "The Stage," regardless of where the action may have been placed by dialogue. There were no great worries over achieving strict accuracy in the drama from the Antiquarian point of view.

Social life among the upper classes was centered about the households of the nobility. The most elaborate system of house-keeping, of course, was the Court of the Queen. In attendance upon her Majesty there were numerous persons, from the eighteen men of the Privy Chamber down to the members of the kitchen and stable crew. Among the many there were the Gentlemen-ushers, Grooms, Pages, Ladies, and Squires. The offices of attendant to a monarch were lucrative positions and much sought after. This pattern of household organization was followed rather closely by the Elizabethan nobleman; the number of attendants on an Earl is astonishing. For a long time, such positions were held only by the gentry, people who were not quite as wealthy as their patrons or near to the Crown by birth.

Byrne's article includes very little discussion of the middle and lower classes of English society. Mention is made of the fact, however, that all of these classes were best represented in and around London.

The heart of the English universe is London. In that great city were the people whose presence there is the principal concern of this work. There too, went Shakespeare in 1588, (or thereabouts). Edgar I. Fripp¹ reasons that Shakespeare might have journeyed to London as apprentice to an actor in the company of the Earl of Leicester's men. In a manner of treatment which appears more or less romantic, Fripp describes the scene as it may have appeared to Shakespeare:²

"Shakespeare's delight in London must have been extraordinary. It was a beautiful old city, ten times the size of Coventry, yet a country-town amid gardens, fields, and woods, and musical near and far with bells. The famous and magnificent Bridge; the tidal river with its galleons and barges, still clean and clear enough for swans and salmon; the Tower; the yet intact walls and gates; the Cathedral ('Powles'), rising high (though bereft since 1561 of its mighty spire) above a crowd of Gothic churches; the Barbican and Charterhouse, Smithfield and St. Bartholomew's, Cornhill and East Cheap; the Crosses and conduits; St. Mary-le-Bow; Londo Stone; the Halls of the City Companies; Baynard's Castle; Staple Inn, (in Holborn, hardly completed); the Inns of Court; the Strand with its mansions and gardens reaching to the Thames; Charing Cross, Whitehall and Westminster; Lambeth Palace; the Bankside and Southwark; St. Mary Overy's now called St. Saviour's; Bermondsey Abbey and Greenwich Palace, appealed to his artistic and patriotic sentiments. On all sides were buildings rich in historical associations. Still more the humanity attracted him. It was so quaint, and so serious; fantastic yet full of common sense; half-medieval, half-Puritan; strictly classified and liveried, reckless and out-of-bounds; 'saved' and 'lost', 'elect' and 'damned'; abounding in inconsistencies, in pieties and rascalities, ancient reverences and new liberalisms, which jostled oddly, ludicrously, sometimes fiercely, in the narrow cobbled streets, in Paul's aisle and at Paul's Cross, on 'Change, in the Bear Garden, and within the theatres. London was Shakespeare's university, his 'Academe', his place of business and source of wealth, the stimulating, challenging milieu of his genius."

1. Fripp, E. I., Shakespeare Man and Artist, pp. 209-210

2. Ibid., p. 215

Neilson and Thorndyke offer a very neat panorama of London and the rest of the real Shakespearean scene.¹ This concise description summarizes information just presented here from Harrison, Byrne, and Fripp, in a manner that is quite matter-of-fact, it seems:

"Shakespeare's England was an agricultural country of four or five million inhabitants. It fed itself, except when poor harvests compelled the importation of grain, and it supplemented agriculture by grazing, fishing and commerce, chiefly with the Netherlands, but growing in many directions. The forests were becoming thin, but the houses were still of timber; the roads were poor, the large towns mostly seaports. The dialects spoken were barious, but the speech of the midland counties had become established in London, at the universities, and in printed books, and was rapidly increasing in dominance. The monasteries and religious orders were gone, but feudalism still held sway, and the people were divided into classes--the various ranks of the nobility, the gentry, the yeomen, the burgesses, and the common people. But changes from one class to another were numerous;² for many lords were losing their inheritances by extravagance, while many business men were putting their profits into land. In spite of persecutions, occasional insurrections, and the plague which devastated the unsanitary town, it was a time of peace and prosperity. The coinage was reformed, roads were improved, taxes were not burdensome, and life in the country was more comfortable and secure than it had been. Books and education were spreading. Numerous grammar schools taught Latin, the universities made provision for poor students, and there were now many careers besides that of the church open to the educated man.

"There was plenty of time for amusement. There were archery butts in Stratford. Everyone enjoyed hunting, hawking, cockfighting, bull-baiting, dancing until the Puritans found such enjoyments immoral. The youthful Shakespeare acquired an intimate knowledge of dogs and horses, hunting and falconry, though this was a gentleman's sport. The highways were full of ballad singers, beggars, acrobats, and wandering players. Play-acting of one kind or another had long been common over most of rural England, and Shakespeare may have seen the most famous of royal entertainments, that at Kenilworth in 1575, when Gascoigne recited poetry, and Leicester, impersonating Deep Desire, addressed Elizabeth from a bush, and a minstrel represented Arion on a dolphin's back.

1. Neilson and Thorndyke, *Facts About Shakespeare*, pp. 3-5

2. Note the Shoemaker in Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday*

London, with less than 200,000 inhabitants, was still a medieval city in appearance, surrounded by a defensive wall, guarded by the Tower, and crowned by the cathedral. The Thames noted for its fish and swans, was the great thoroughfare, crowded with many kinds of boats and spanned by the famous London Bridge. The theatres, forbidden in the city proper, were built either in the fields to the north of the walls, or across the river close by the kennels and rings. It was a city of narrow streets, open sewers, wooden houses, without an adequate water supply or sanitation, in constant danger from fire and plague. But dirt and disease were no more prevalent than they had been for centuries; in spite of them, there was no lack of life in the crowded lanes. The great palaces were outside the city proper, and there were few notable buildings within its precincts except the churches.

But the comforts and luxuries of life increased and spread to all classes. Tobacco, potatoes, and forks were first introduced in Shakespeare's time."

The next step in determining the attitude of the Elizabethans toward foreigners as reflected in the drama is to search the records for information concerning the aliens who actually came to England in the Age of Shakespeare. The reflection of such attitudes involves the question of topicality in the drama; but this must await its turn in Chapter II:

There were many foreigners in Shakespeare's England.¹ At that time there were British laws governing immigration similar

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1. The following account explains technique and legal manner of alien entry. It is taken from The Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, vol. VIII:

Aliens in England (1509-1603)

At an early date it was found necessary to limit the number of foreigners. Edward III passed an act distinguishing natural born subjects from alien...During the civil wars and the wars with France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was necessary to restrict the number of immigrants and to keep account of those admitted. Iniquity and taxation of individuals enabled the government to keep track of aliens...Aliens obtained privileges of a native by two means: by Act of Naturalization or

to the regulations of today, but that they were not rigidly enforced is quite certain. From Harrison's Journals, these entries

through Letters of Denization. Act of Naturalization was an arrangement made by an act of Parliament. Letters of Denization were granted independently by the Crown. The latter were not sufficient to enable a man to inherit lands nor confer benefits on any children, as this method did not correct all legal obstacles in the way of foreign birth:

"The former was obtained by a Bill of Parliament, and gave the recipient a position in all respects similar to that of a native, the latter were required from the Crown, and the privileges conveyed were not retrospective, but only commenced from the date of the grant. This difference was important when aliens were incapable of holding lands in this country, as Letters of Denization not wholly correcting incapacities entailed by foreign birth, were not sufficient to enable a man to inherit lands, nor confer any benefit on children born previous to the grant...Hence it is that we find that it seems to have been almost invariable the practice for the children of Englishmen, born abroad, to obtain Acts of Naturalization, and for strangers of foreign blood to procure Letters of Denization."

Residence of twenty years and over usually gave a person the reputation of being a citizen of the country, but there are listed instances where persons, during the reign of Henry VIII, who were compelled to take out Letters of Denization even after sixty years.

In spite of legislation intended to hinder foreign tradesmen, most of the skilled labour during the sixteenth century was done by foreigners. The Crown encouraged foreign immigration, but the jealous English tradesmen of course did not. England was comparatively a rich country and therefore attractive to foreigners who had the experience the English lacked. The following countries are represented by persons obtaining Letters of Denization or Act of Naturalization papers: France, Italy, Spain, Rhodes, Faroe Islands, Denmark, Candia, Greece, Poland, Ragusa, Switzerland, Iceland (1570), Geneva, Turkey, Scotland, Normandy, and several unclassified groups from Central Europe.

Events through the years beginning with 1512 here, reveal the attitude toward many of the alien races:

In 1512, war with France was followed by the English defeat of the Scots and their allies. Peace came in 1514; many Letters of Denization were issued for Italian merchant princes and their

bear out this idea:²

"April 7, 1593. Now that the king of Spain dischargeth many English, Irish, and Scotch fugitives, many of them are likely to come into the realm in secret and covert manner. The officers of Cinque Ports are to make diligent search and enquiry upon the arrival of any shipping, causing suspicious persons to be stayed."

"February 17, 1594. Because of the dangers at this time to the Queen's person..officers are in every port that shall not suffer any person to land until examined as to the cause of his coming. It is especially likely that such persons will land at Dover, Sandwich, Rye, Yarmouth and London..."

"Any such persons..acknowledge any kind of allegiance or obedience to the Pope or to the King of Spain..because it is known and proved by common experience upon the apprehension of sundry traitorous persons sent into the realm that they do come into the same by secret creeks and landing places, disguised..."

backers. There were Italian (Venetian especially) factories in London. During the Reformation, the Crown still favored foreigners, while the people of the middle and lower classes were against them. In 1558, all Letters of Denization to French were made void, and an effort was made to expell all Frenchmen from the country...1562 was the return of many Protestants who had fled the reign of Queen Mary. French Huguenots entered the country, and broader religious liberties were granted them by 1570. After 1572 and the Massacre of Huguenots in France on St. Bartholomew's Eve, more of the survivors came to England. At this time there were Dutch settlements located at Coventry and Thetford...The Mayor and Corporation of London ordered (1574) that no alien or person born abroad be accepted as apprentice...With trouble brewing with Spain in 1577, London authorities became alarmed at the large number of foreigners in the city. A census was ordered to be taken with the following results:--

In residence there were, 2,300 Dutch; 1,838 French; 116 Italians; 1,542 foreign born English; 447 persons of other nations, and 217 whose nationality was not certified. (editor's note: "These numbers refer to the heads of households, and might therefore be safely multiplied by five, in order to arrive at the full number of the alien population.")

In 1586, the apprentices, still jealous, plotted an attack on aliens, especially the French. Complaint and jealousy of strangers continued, and in 1592 Sir Walter Raleigh made a famous speech against them.

2. Harrison, G. B., Elizabethan Journal, pp. 286-287

An explanation accompanies this last entry, in effect that the governmental officials were considering the necessity for census-taking in order to account for all aliens, with a special vigilance for Jesuits and Spaniards:

"There is much evidence to justify the fear that the Queen's life was endangered by spies and hired assassins, for example:"

"1593. Gilvert Laton, a recusant, that was taken, voluntarily confessed that he was sent over to England by Father Parsons, Sir Francis Englefield and Don Juan de Idiaques to kill the Queen."¹

There was much to attract foreigners to England at this time. The rapidly expanding population of the small island made trade a necessity. Italian, German, Dutch, Norwegian and other traders came to represent their nations and to get their share of English trade. Fugitives from other nations found refuge in a liberal England. The English universities attracted scholars from nearly all the other European countries, and they were well-received at Oxford and Cambridge. Only one instance of discrimination is recorded, and that was by France Dr. Caius (the real Dr. Caius whose likeness appears in The Merry Wives of Windsor) against the Welsh.²

England was a bit late in catching the spirit of the Renaissance; this caused the people to admire the manners, the style of dress and the customs of other Europeans, especially Italian, Spanish and French. Thus foreigners were more or less welcome because of the novelty of custom and manner which they brought. English soldiers returning from the wars brought home new phrases

1. Ibid., pp.75-76; p.207

2. See page , "Shakespeare and the Welsh", Chapter XIX

and habits, new clothes and weapons. Charles Hughes¹ tells of visitors in England:

"Foreigners alone travelled in England on such errands (pleasure), and many of these have left records of their experiences; foreign tourists in Shakespeare's day often included Scotland in their journeys. The great scholar Scaliger explored the border country. The French poets, Ronsard and Du Bartas travelled direct to Scotland by sea, and went home through England. The famous Huguenot general, Duke of Rohan, wrote an account of a tour in 1600. German noblemen who figured largely among foreign tourists, chiefly spent their time in the city of London inspection the royal palaces of Whitehall and Greenwich, and making excursions in Richmond, Hampton Court, and Windsor. They rarely went further into the provinces than to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Foreign tourists invariably travelled on horseback, and often complained that English saddles were too narrow and too hard for their comfort. The government usually granted these foreign visitors special privileges of travel which pressed hardly on inn-keepers. In 1592, Frederick, Duke of Wurtembery, and his companions were officially permitted to requisition post-horses free of charge when travelling on the Bristol Road to Windsor. It is in reference to this incident that Sir Hugh Evans, in Shakespeare's The Merry Wives of Windsor, iv. 5.79 seq., indignantly complains that 'there is three cozen-germans that has cozened all the hosts of Readins, of Maidenhead, of Colebrook, of horses and money'."

"Paul Hentzner* of Brandenburg came in attendance on a young Silesion nobleman in 1598. The party made a sight-seeing tour from London. After visiting Lord Burghley's house at Theobalds, they went on to Cambridge, and thence to Oxford, and afterwards to Woodstock. On their way to Windsor and Eton they passed through Henley and Maidenhead, and subsequently visited Hampton Court and the wonderful palace of Nonesuch at Chetam. Foreign visitors found much difficulty with the language, but in 1602, Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin in Pomerania, reports how a learned Englishman who spoke Latin obligingly acted as interpreter with a dense innkeeper, and helped him and his companions in settling their hotel bill."

Near at home, there were the Welsh, Scotch and Irish, all of whom were looked upon as aliens in spite of their geographical

1. Shakespeare's England, Ox. Press, 1916, vol.I, pp.208-209

* Hentzner's description of Elizabeth, one of very best

neighborliness. Not one of these countries has yet become completely Anglicized, and often hostilities would arise, even as in this day, removed 350 years. Especially is this true with the Irish. Concerning these Irish in England there is this entry from the first Journal of Harrison:¹

"1594. Every Irishman in London or about the Court that is neither a known householder must present himself to one of the Council or to the Lord Mayor to be examined how he lives and why he remains in England."

Another entry dated 1591, August 3.²

"Mr. Mills, Signor Botello and Dr. Lopez go to Rye to examine prisoners from Dieppe. First, Emanuel Andrada of Don Antonio, the second, John Semple, a Scot, to be examined about rebels and fugitives and his connexions in England and Scotland. The other two are Portuguese."

The French were next nearest to England, and they were present as ambassadors, visitors and as relatives of the British royal family. There were the Dutch who came as laborers as well as merchants, and the records show them as journeymen or apprentices to the various trades. The Queen's own coachman, a man named William Boonen, was Dutch.³ Dr. Lopez, personal physician to Elizabeth was a Jew in spite of the fact that he had a Spanish name and--allegedly--strong Spanish inclinations. Spaniards taken prisoner in battle or at sea were jailed in London, and in one instance, at least, a Spaniard was released under such circumstances to walk the streets of London.⁴ There were many German

1. Harrisons, G. B., Elizabethan Journals, p.287

2. Ibid., pp. 62-66

3. Shakespeare's England, Ox. U. Press, 1916, vol.I., p.28

4. Harrison, G. B., Elizabethan Journals, p. 114

merchants at English county fairs, at such times when tariff restrictions were not so effective. There were visitors from all over Europe at the great universities. Italian merchants and Jewish money-lenders often set up permanent residence in London. Moreover, such residential privileges were subject to revocation at any time by city and Crown officials, as illustrated by an excerpt from another of Harrison's Journals:¹

"June 20, 1596: There is one Cornelius Waters, a stranger of the County of Brabant, deserving of more punishment, having lived so many years in the real that he could not be ignorant of his offence, is not to be further proceeded with than to be sent away out of the country in the vessel of some Fleming or Low Countryman and straitly charged not to return again."

Roving bands of Gypsies--the Elizabethans called them Egyptians--and vagabonds of all the nations of Europe slipped into England to join the hordes of alien and native vagrants infesting the country. At intervals sweeping check-up were made by Crown officials, and many of these undesirables were deported. From an entry for May 4, 1593:²

"...of all strangers living in London with their children and servants born out of the realm to be 4300; 267 being denizens; this scouting hath been taken because of the complaints of English shopkeepers that the strangers are not content with manufacturers but would keep shops and retail all manner of goods."

The Elizabethan Age was a time of great exploration by British seamen. It was the custom for explorers to bring back some of the natives from the less-civilized lands they visited.³ In this manner there came to England Indians from Brazil as early as 1530, and

1. Harrison, G. B., Elizabethan Journals, p. 108 (1596)

2. Ibid., (1593), p. 238

3. Shakespeare's England, Oxford University Press, 1916, p.195, Vol.I

from Guiana in 1595; Eskimos in 1502 and 1578; Africans were brought from Sierra Leone, West Africa in 1554.¹ On one of the ships commanded by Drake, a Greek and a Negro were killed in the battle with a Spanish man-of-war.²

Thus, if the information presented may be considered sufficiently authentic, then there were present in Elizabethan England people from all over the world, with the Orient being, perhaps, the only exception, and there too went the English captain Drake when he circled the globe.

History makes mention of the English attitude toward these aliens. From the records the following quotations are indicative of the position of aliens in the estimation of the English:

From William Kent's Encyclopedia:³

"1592--The inhabitants are magnificently apparelled and are extremely proud and overbearing, especially trades people. They care little for foreigners but scoff and laugh at them; and, moreover, one dare not oppose them, else the street boys and apprentices collect together, striking to the right and left without regarding the person; and because they are the strongest, one is obliged to put up with the injury...", writes Frederick, Duke of Wurtemberg of his visit to London.

However, history also reveals that many such as the haughty Duke deserved worse than mere insults from the British for their own lordly attitude toward the British whom they often called rude.

Further instance of the type of hostility encountered by aliens may be seen in the attitude of the merchants:

1. Ibid., page 195

2. Harrison, B. G., Elizabethan Journals, II, p. 100; 3.p.123; 4.p

3. Kent, Wm., An Encyclopedia of London, p.331;

From Harrison's Journals:

"Barbary Ambassadors: Whereas the chief pretence of their embassy was to require continuance of her Majesty's favour, yet the English merchants hold it otherwise...by reason that during their half year's abode in London they have used all subtlety to know prices...They carry with them all sorts of English weights and measures and samples of commodities. They seem rather to have been espials...for they omitted nothing that might damnify the English merchants."

From an account written in Shakespeare's England:

"Annual fairs with the dreaded virus of free trade..the host of pedlars of foreigners from the next county..The local producer claimed protection against the...outside traders who did not help bear the town's burdens."¹

After long years of bloody warfare with Spain, the Spanish were considered the worst enemies of the English at this time.

Charles Hughes² writes:

"If English men respected without liking the Germans and Netherlanders, they hated the Spaniards."

That Jews came in for a measure of general disfavor is brought to notice by the case of Dr. Lopez. From Harrison comes an account of the case:³

"February 15, 1594: This Lopez, a perjured murdering Jewish Doctor, worse than Judas himself, undertook the poisoning..All these charges being plainly and fully proved by witnesses, by the intercepted letters, and by the confession of the judge, he is found guilty in the highest degree and Judgement passed on him with universal applause."

Harrison includes in this account a statement concerning the popularity of Marlowe's Jew of Malta, especially during the trial and after the execution of Dr. Lopez.

1. Shakespeare's England, Ox. U. Press, 1916, p. 314-315

2. Ibid., p.215

3. Harrison, B. G., Elizabethan Journals, pp. 289-292

In spite of the evidence of anti-Semitism, or the hostility of English merchants and the enmity incurred through a long war with Spain, Elizabethan England was a liberal England, in many respects, and certainly as far as aliens were concerned. Moreover, there is an instance on record of a Spanish prisoner who was released, at the height of the war, to walk the streets of London unmolested;¹ from all indications the merchants were quite willing to tolerate any alien of any nationality, should such a relationship show promise of financial gain. Gypsies--the English called them Egyptians--wandering soldiers, and other vagrants of many alien nations roamed the English countryside, often in such numbers that local authorities were unable to cope with their lawlessness. Such a problem did these vagrants present that colonization was one of the measures advocated for getting rid of them. One account states that most of these unemployed persons were usually well-fed. Obviously they were not treated unkindly by the general public, and there is no doubt that they were adept at thievery. Many of the alien males were forced to serve in the English army.

Foreigners were welcomed at the universities, and education was placed within the reach of many of those who were poor.

The three religious groups were not often violently opposed to each other, and the Catholics were still tolerated after the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth.

The exceptions to this apparent liberalism are not severe to the extent that the term, "liberal", may not fairly be applied:

1. Ibid., p.114

There were the Jesuits priests who attracted much disfavor and for many years were denied entrance to the country, but the Jesuits were only a small group, comparatively, of the Roman Catholics. In the case of Dr. Lopez and the Jewish question, the Queen had known that he was a Jew before he entered her service, and for years he served her faithfully. If a Jew was good enough to hold such a position near to the person of the sovereign, there could have been no great enmity toward that race. Moreover, Lopez was given (what was considered at that time) a fair trial before his conviction and death on rather questionable evidence.

There is no doubt that certain groups were looked upon with greater disdain and suspicion than others, but persecution of the type inflicted by the Spanish Inquisition was impossible for the rather light-hearted, pleasure-seekers of the Elizabethan Age. Despite the many indications of ill-feeling directed against such peoples as Jews, Irishmen, Spaniards, or even the lowly blacks (whose numbers were surprisingly augmented through the unwitting efforts of sea captains and traders)¹ there was no great wave of terrorism or severe persecution directed at any particular alien race.

The history of the representatives of aliens in Elizabethan England will be presented in more detail beginning with Chapter III.

Before attempting a solution of the major problem, the reflection of attitudes in the drama, the question of topicality should be considered. If Elizabethan drama is not topical--as some scholars maintain--then this search for attitudes is indeed a futile endeavor.

1. Shakespeare's England, Oxford University Press, 1916, I, p.195

2. Topicality

There are scholars and critics who express doubt about the topicality of Shakespearean drama. Among these are Neilson and Thorndyke, G. B. Harrison, and M. C. Bradbrook.

Neilson and Thorndyke contend:¹

"...But all this strife, all this debate, repression, persecution, and all of this great turmoil working in the minds of Englishmen, find little in Shakespeare's plays, and little in the whole Elizabethan drama. Religious controversy had played a part in the drama of the reign of Edward and Mary, but it rarely enters the Elizabethan drama, and then mainly in the form of ridicule for the Puritan. Shakespeare's plays seem almost to ignore the most momentous facts of his time. They treat pagan, Catholic, and Protestant with cordiality and only smile at the Puritan or Brownist. It reflects rather that freedom from restraint, that buoyancy of spirit, that lively interest in experience, which had their full course in the few years when the old garment was off and the new not quite fitted..."

In the following comment, G. B. Harrison seems to share the point of view of Neilson and Thorndyke:²

"The task of selecting passages from Elizabethan writers which show English life in English literature is still further complicated by the fact that with certain exceptions most of the greatest writers are not much interested in the externals of ordinary existence."

Bradbrook's opinion is stated quite definitely:³

"Allusions to contemporary politics were a dangerous game which playwrights sometimes played. But Shakespeare does not seem to have practised it, though the discovery of this habit in his contemporaries set the diligent hunting... Jonson suffered through the Elizabethan habit of allegorical interpretation." (He was imprisoned because of statements in Sejanus.) "...But the fashion for digging for allusions is clearly a disease of the incompetent pseudo-historian."

1. Neilson, A. W., and Thorndike, A. H., The Facts About Shakespeare, p. 14
2. Harrison, G. B., Elizabethan Journals, III, p.144
3. Bradbrook, M. C., Elizabethan Stage Conditions, pp. 61-63

On the other hand, some critics approve of the idea of topicality. T. M. Parrott,¹ a member of this group, states:

"The gloom that seems to have settled over Shakespeare's mind in the last days of Elizabeth's reign was not lifted by these signs of royal favor (at the hands of James I). He had already entered into what is known as his tragic period. Even the comedies of this time, All's Well that Ends Well, Measure for Measure, show a bitter humor far other than the happy mirth of his earlier plays and the shadow deepens as he goes on to write Othello, King Lear, and Macbeth. The change of tone and temper in his work has been explained by the changing dramatic fashion of the time, shifting from romantic comedy and tragedy; but this is hardly sufficient cause. His change of theme may have been due in part to his unceasing desire to explore new realms of art; a deeper cause, not doubt, was his growing realization of the powers of evil that lay beneath the brilliant surface of Renaissance culture and that were to show themselves during the reign of the first Stuart King."

In the preface of Eva Turner Clark's Book, Hidden Allusions in Shakespeare's Plays,² there is a statement:

..."The key to this new chronology of Shakespeare's plays was supplied to me by the records of the Court of Revels... Upon applying the test of historic allusion to those plays which were suggested by titles in the records, the theory seemed to me to be amply demonstrated... Those who believe that literature has its inspiration in the imagination without reference to contemporary incidents may not like to admit that Shakespeare made a practice of alluding to people and events of his time in burlesque, in satire, in allegory, in comedy, and in tragedy..."

A modification of the general theory is to be seen in the opinions of M. St. Clare Byrne and others. In effect they say that Shakespeare is too subtle in his work to reflect the life and times of the Era, and that the works of minor Elizabethan writers should serve such purpose better;³

1. Parrott, Thomas M., William Shakespeare, p.54

2. Clark, Eva T., Hidden Allusions in Shakespeare's Plays, p.v.

3. Byrne, M. St. Clare, in A Companion to Shakespeare Studies by H. Granville-Barker and G. B. Harrison, p. 187

The theory of "slight topicality" is offered by Otis and Needleman:¹

"Shakespeare, again, is sparing in 'topical allusions,' and passages thought to refer to current events or controversies require caution on the part of the interpreter. Yet, the chorus before the fifth act of Henry V contains a clear allusion to the campaign of the Earl of Essex in Ireland, and fixes the date of the performance at which that prologue was used between March 27 and September 28, 1599."

Strangely enough, Harrison,² in spite of a declaration already quoted here, is found on the side of those who express a belief in at least one phase of topicality:

"Shakespeare reflects a prevalent feeling in Falstaff's cruel parody of Hotspur's worship of bright honor...King James tired of state business...the result was a noticeable falling off in the general discipline of the state, which was soon reflected on the stage...The picture of a Shakespeare magnificently aloof from life may be pleasing to romantic critics, but it does not square either with facts or with Shakespeare's own comment upon his art."

The records of history and accounts similar to those to be found in Harrison's Journals indicate that allusions are numerous, and that they appear not merely in the dialogue of plays, but in nomenclature of dramatis personae, character delineation methods, as well as inference and insinuation through frequency and timeliness of presentation.

J. B. Black writes in his "The Reign of Elizabeth:"³

(He is referring to Shakespeare's Twelfth Night.) "The tone of society was intensely secular... 'Dost think thou art virtuous,' says Toby Belch to Malvolio, 'there shall be no more cakes and ale?... A stoup of wine, Maria!'... atmosphere of egoism, paganism and epicureanism... the infiltration of Italian vices."

1. Otis, W. B., Needleman, M., Outline History of English Lit., v.1, p.168
2. Harrison, G. B., Granville-Barker, H., A Companion to Shakespeare Studies, pp.171, 183, 186
3. Black, J. B., "The Reign of Elizabeth," Ox. Hist. of Eng., p.237

In William Kent's¹ Encyclopedia there is the following item of interest:

"The church (St. Paul's Cathedral?) is probably the one referred to in Twelfth Night."

Harrison's Journals give evidence of the political and personal use of the drama:²

"Great complaint is made that the players at the Curtain represent the persons of some gentlemen of good desert and quality that are yet alive under obscure manner, but in such a sort as the hearers may take note of the matter and the persons. The Justices of Middlesex are therefore to examine them...if...appear...unfit, to forbid it, and to take bonds of the chiefest of them if the subject be so odious and inconvenient as is informed."

The political significance in timely presentation may be seen in the following account:³

"February 7, 1601: Yesterday Sir Charles Percy, the Lord Mounteagle and others came to the L. Chamberlain's players and would have them play that play of the deposing and killing of King Richard II, promising to give them 40 s. to play it. The players answered that the play was so old that they should have little or no company at it. Nevertheless at their request, and in consideration of 40 s. they played it this afternoon at the Globe when many of my Lord Essex's followers were present."

The entry just mentioned was written but a day or two before Essex made his Quixotic attempt to wrest the throne from Queen Elizabeth. The followers of Essex recognized the influence of the drama on the temper of the people and also the influence of popular demands on the drama. In other words, they saw things

1. Kent, William, An Encyclopedia of London, p.143

2. Harrison, G. B., Elizabethan Journals, v.III, p.180

3. Ibid., p.144

in a play which seemed to fit into the pattern of their own lives at that time.

Further instance is taken from Harrison:¹

"The Troublesome Reign of King John, a play that hath been sundry times acted in the City of London. In the first part is shown the discovery of King Richard, Cordelion's base son, the wars in France and the supposed death of Arthur, being a play very fitting to the times..."

The following account continues the illustrations revealing some aspects of the relationship between history and drama:²

"At the very time when Shakespeare drew the character of Shylock, an act was being drafted to raise the wages of poor spinners and weavers...When Shakespeare produced The Merchant of Venice, the 'interest' was still a word of such ill omen that the popular Antonio could find no stronger term with which to stigmatize the bargains and the well-won thrift of Shylock."

J. Dover Wilson states a belief that there writers who go to ridiculous extremes in finding nothing but topicality in Shakespearean drama, and he accuses F. G. Fleay of being one of these extremists:³

"Now Sidney Lee and those who follow him insist that here Shakespeare differed from his fellow dramatists (the point of view of M. St. Clare Byrne, also), that he preserved himself in this as in other respects unspotted from his world. In taking this line they are to some extent reacting from the extravagancies of F. G. Fleay, who seems to have found little except topicality in Shakespeare's plays."

To add further evidence of the sort upon which the success of this work depends--if topicality does not exist in Shakespeare, as well as in the works of his contemporaries, it would render it difficult indeed to find any "reflections of

1. Harrison, G. B., Elizabethan Journals, p.95
2. Shakespeare's England, Oxford U. Press, 1916, p.332
3. Wilson, J. Dover, The Essential Shakespeare, p.12

attitudes"--the following instances are offered from several plays: (Comment is by J. Dover Wilson.)¹

"The Venice of his Merchant is only London in masquing attire...Probably the most reliable picture of these Stratford burgesses is of the households of Master Page and Master Ford in The Merry Wives of Windsor, who might easily have been called the 'Merry Wives of Stratford'... Shakespeare sent Essex off with Henry V (to the Irish Campaign). Julius Caesar² and the conspirators could have taught him (the penalty, or the danger, at least, of ambition not well-directed)...Troilus and Cressida was Shakespeare's savage attempt to goad the Earl to action...They (the followers of Essex) misunderstood Shakespeare (as urging rebellion) and played Richard II on the Eve of rebellion."

Another entry from Harrison's Journals is noteworthy:³

"February 26, 1598: When the actors first played this play (Henry IV, Part One) they called the fat knight Sir John Oldcastle which caused offence to a certain nobleman whose wife is descended from that Oldcastle who was executed as a Lollard in the time of King Henry the Fifth. Wherefore the name is now changed."

Rather unflatteringly, Tolstoi embellishes this remark:⁴

"Falstaff, like all Shakespeare's characters, was taken from a drama or comedy by an unknown author, written on a really living person, Sir John Oldcastle, who had been the friend of some duke. This Oldcastle had once been convicted of heresy, but had been saved...afterward he was condemned and burned at the stake for his religious beliefs, which did not conform with Catholicism. It was this same Oldcastle that an anonymous author, in order to please the Catholic public, wrote a comedy or drama, ridiculing this martyr for his faith and representing him as a good-for-nothing man, the boon companion of the duke, and it is from this comedy that Shakespeare borrowed not only the character of Falstaff, but also his own ironical attitude toward it. In Shakespeare's first works, when this character appeared, it was frankly called 'Oldcastle,' but later, in Elizabeth's time, when Protestantism again triumphed, it was awkward to bring out with mockery a martyr in the strife with Catholicism, and

1. Wilson, J. Dover, The Essential Shakespeare, pp.21;100-102

2. The first performance of Henry V was given on September 21, one week before he returned in disgrace to burst into the bedroom of the Queen. (Ibid., p.102)

3. Harrison, G. B., Elizabethan Journals, v.III,p.259

4. Tolstoy on Shakespeare, Edited by Ernest Crosby, p.68

besides, Oldcastle's relatives protested, and Shakespeare... altered the name to that of Falstaff, also a historical figure known for having fled from the field of battle at Agincourt...Falstaff is indeed quite a natural and typical character; but then it is perhaps the only natural and typical character depicted by Shakespeare."

Of another character in a Shakespearian play, F. J. Harries¹ has this to say: (from The Merry Wives of Windsor)

"There was a real Dr. Caius, whose hereditary name of Kaye was thus Latinized, who lived so near the poet's time that his name has not passed out of the popular mind, while it was revered amongst scholars for his noble foundation at Cambridge. The real Dr. Caius did exclude Welshmen from holding any of his fellowships...died in 1573."

Then J. Dover Wilson launches a rather devastating attack against those who doubt the topicality of Elizabethan drama:²

"One more false image--the image of the 'impersonal Shakespeare, of a Shakespeare who keeps himself out of his writings, not excepting his sonnets;...Elizabethan drama was a social institution which performed many functions since taken over by more specialized agencies. Among other things it was like the modern newspaper, at once the focus and the purveyor of the London gossip of the day. In a word, it was topical. Now Sidney Lee and those who follow him insist that here Shakespeare differed from his fellow dramatists, that he preserved himself in this as in other respects unspotted from his world. In taking this line they are to some extent reacting from the extravagancies of F. G. Fleay, who seems to have found little except topicality in Shakespeare's plays. Yet they err as far on one side as did he on the other. Hamlet tells us, and in this Shakespeare is surely, for once at any rate, speaking through the lips of his character, that 'the purpose of playing,' which of course includes the purpose of the dramatist, 'is, as 'twere, to hold the mirror up to nature to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure.' That is the gist of the matter both then and now. Shakespeare's plays reflect the passing intellectual and social fashions of his day as the plays of Bernard Shaw do of ours, and Shakespeare never minded in the least

1. Harries, F. J., Shakespeare and the Welsh, p.69

2. Wilson, J. Dover, The Essential Shakespeare, pp. 11-14

3. See Fripp's comment on the sonnets, Chapter II, p. 85

glancing at events of persons which were at the moment agitating the minds of his audience. No one can deny that he refers to the 'war of the theatres' in the second act of Hamlet, or to the Irish campaign of Essex in one of the choruses of Henry V...not his tragic life-story of which we know nothing, but the life at the courts of Elizabeth and James, the persons and doings of the great man of the land. But we must be careful not to be too crude or too literal in this matter, or we may fall into the trap that confounded Fleay. Shakespeare was a dramatic artist, not a journalist, and above all he was subtle. He hardly ever goes out of his way to make a topical allusion his own; he glances at the business in passing, obliquely and in hints, rather than by overt reference. And in so doing he showed a double wisdom: he escaped the troubles which fell upon dramatists who made open attacks, since his 'taxing like a wild-geese might fly, unclaimed of any man,' and secondly, the passages in which the allusions occurred did not become dead wood which needed cutting out when the play was next revived, and the events hinted at were forgotten...those who obstinately hold to the doctrine of impersonality and the respectability of Shakespeare should be condemned to edit that text (Love's Labor's Lost, which Fripp thinks contains more topical allusions than any other of the poet's plays) until they had satisfactorily explained every allusion and every difficult reading."

After noting the many paralleled instances in Elizabethan drama and in the incidents of Elizabethan life as recorded in the history of the period, it is difficult to evade sharing the point of view of J. Dover Wilson and many others like him. This present work, consequently, proceeds on the assumption of the topicality of Shakespearean drama. A reflection of the life and times of the period certainly should include a reflection of Elizabethan attitudes toward foreigners. After concluding that drama may serve as a thermometer of public opinion, the next step is to determine to what extent it actually may be used as such.¹

1. In the Preface there appears a list of critics who have touched--tantalizingly, in most instances--upon the question of the attitudes toward aliens as revealed in drama.

The major problem is at hand: From the evidence of the plays of the period, to determine the Elizabethan attitude toward representatives of each alien race in England.

Be it agreed with Hamlet that the actors "are the abstract and brief chronicles of the time." (Hamlet, ii.2.,1.555)

CHAPTER II

Fear in the Attitude toward Foreigners Reflected in Elizabethan Drama

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Fear is the basic emotion present in such attitudes as suspicion, hatred, jealousy, apprehension, and unfavorable prejudice. In this respect, fear basically characterizes the attitude of the Elizabethan Englishmen toward certain groups of foreigners whom they represented upon the stages of their theatres. The groups of aliens thus represented are Turks, Spaniards, Frenchmen, Black folks and Jews, with fear ranging downward in degree from a mixture of whole-hearted, though almost legendary, hatred and respect, to feigned contempt--from the attitude toward Turks to the attitude toward Elizabethan Jews.

1. Turks

There were very few Turks who came to England between the years 1588 to 1617. At that time, however, Turkey was a world power of wide recognition, and it was principally because the Turks were "infidels" that greater traffic did not exist in commerce and politics with England. Entries from Harrison's Journals are indicative of relations between the two countries:

"14th April. False Reports concerning the Queen's Dealings with the Turks."

"There have of late been set forth in Germany many scandalous libels about her Majesty as if she had invited the Turk to make war against Christendom; and the letters which she sent the Turk published, but falsified and corrupted many things being added. A letter is now sent to the Emperor very strongly denying these calumnies and

showing how by the Turk's own confession her Majesty did make peace between him and the King of Poland. This letter also setteth forth the insatiable desire for conquest of the King of Spain, and the troubles which he stirreth up in France and in Scotland."¹

"9th February. The Queen writeth to the Emperor of Turkey at the importunity of Sigismund, the Vayrod of Transylvania, that she should intercede on his behalf. Wherefore the Queen, by reason of her old friendship with Sigismund, and for that he followeth the same form of Christianity as we, (having rejected the superstition of the Pope of Rome and the worshipping of images), now urgeth the Grand Signor that the Vayrod's complaints may be heard and remedied according to law."²

No good impression was made on the public by another bit of news which appeared in 1595:

"28th May. The Turk hath lately caused to be executed his brother-in-law for having discovered some matter of state. He caused a butcher to be quartered on his own stool, and a baker to be burnt in his own oven for false weights."³

But no powerful nation in Elizabeth's day could be entirely without friends among the English of a rising empire:

"7th February. Mr. Thomas Arundel that some months since went to take service under the Emperor against the Turk is now returned, having gotten an extreme cold by tumbling into the sea for safety of his life, when his ship was wrecked, and thereby his apparel, linen, horses, money, and whatsoever else all lost. So honourably hath he carried himself in the wars that the Emperor made him an Earl of the Empire. But when it was carried to the Queen that he hath presumed to a dignity from the Emperor without her privity, he is to be committed to his lodging or to the Fleet until her pleasure is known."⁴

English tales of Turkish cruelty were apparently well-founded, and were exceeded in horror only by the Spanish reputation for cruelty:

1. Harrison, G. B., Elizabethan Journals, i. pp. 233-234

2. Ibid., ii. pp. 12-13

3. Ibid., ii. p. 26

4. Ibid., ii. p. 76

"18th April (1598). It hath long been accustomed at the sermons at the Spital in the Easter holidays to have a gathering for the redemption of such as are prisoners of the Turk or other heathens; but as there are few of late years taken by the Turk, and at this present divers poor mariners come hither out of Spain where they have been cruelly racked and endured great misery, it is proposed that a collection shall be made to relieve their present necessities and send them home into their counties."¹

An account of an Englishman who went to Italy to aid that country in its struggle against the Turks brings to mind the story of Othello:

"29th July (1598). From Italy news is come of Sir Anthony Shirley, that went out of England the last winter giving out that he would serve the Emperor against the Turk, but now it appeareth that he doth serve the Turk against the Emperor; and so is he turned from a Christian to a Turk, which is most monstrous. No doubt if it be so the Lord will punish the same."²

In regard to Othello, there are historical facts which form a basis for some of the action of the story:³ In 1570, the island of Cyprus, which had been in Venetian hands since 1471, was invaded by the Turks under command of Emperor Selim's general Mustapha. There actually was a junction of the Turkish Fleet at Rhodes in 1570, and Cyprus was attacked in May of that year.

There were at least a few Turkish aliens in Elizabethan England:

"26th December (1591). There be six Turks lately arrived in an English vessel, of whom three are said to be of the guard of the Grand Signior. They allege that they have been retained more than twenty years as slaves in the galleys of the Spanish King before they found means to escape. These men have made humble suit to the merchants trading in Tripoli

1. Ibid., ii. p. 273

2. Ibid., ii. p. 294

3. Othello, by Wm. Shakespeare, edited by H. N. Hudson, p. 10

to be relieved by the loan of some hundred crowns, offering to be bound to repay the money when they come to the first place of Turkish dominion, before they set foot on shore. The Council recommend their request to the merchants, praying and requiring them to furnish this aid, which would be gratefully accepted by the Grand Signior and the other people in general of that country."¹

Cunningham tells of a Grecian and a Turk who were aided by public money in 1612 and 1614.²

Since there was very little actual contact with alien Turks in England, their reputation grew more terrifying through imaginative enhancement. On the stage they were invariably represented as "heathen," "infidels," "blasphemous dogs," and generally, terrible Turks. "Turned Turk" was an expression commonly used by Elizabethans as indication of extreme infidelity or cruelty.

The Turkish Ithamore of Marlowe's Jew of Malta is a creature whose cruelty, meanness, treachery, deceit, sensuality and cunning qualify him as a suitable servant for Barabas. Such a slave as that which Barabas bought may have had his counterpart in London reality, though slave traffic was confined primarily to blackamoors. An Elizabethan might have been of the mind of Barabas (iv.4):

Barabas. Why should this Turk be dearer than the Moor?
First Officer. Because he is young, and has more qualities.

With the dangerous Ithamore as a model, it is quite easy to see that Elizabethans may have preferred not to have a Turk for a servant. The docile black would have been a more likely choice by a spectator who had seen Marlowe's play.

1. Harrison, G. B., Elizabethan Journals, i. p. 88

2. Cunningham, W., Alien Immigrants in England, note, p. 154

The English most often represent the Turks as a very warlike race. The other Turks in The Jew of Malta are dominant figures under the hand of Marlowe. Their demands for tribute bring about the confiscation of the property of Barabas (i.6):

Ferneze. From the Emperor of Turkey is arriv'd
Great Selim Calymath his highness's son,

There is throughout the play a rather significant collaboration of Turks and Jews against Christians. Marlowe's Barabas, dying in the pit as captured Calymath looks on (v., last scene), cries out to his erstwhile henchman:

I would have brought confusion on you all
Damn'd Christian dogs, and Turkish infidels!

Soliman, the Sultan of Turkey in Kyd's Spanish Tragedy, is also represented as a martial figure when Balthazar speaks (in Hieronimo's play) of "The warlike heart of Soliman."

Mediterranean warfare with the Turks sends Othello against the Ottoman. Among the several allusions to Turks in the play, the last by Othello seems most significant:

Othello. Where a malignant and a turban'd Turk
Beat a Venetian and traduced the state,
I took by the throat the circumcised dog,
And smote him thus.

In The Merry Wives of Windsor, Pistol speaks of a "Base Phrygian Turk!" (i.4).

The idea of Turkish tribute seems to have been an Elizabethan by-word inspired by traditional fear of Turkish military might. Falstaff speaks of the Justice (2 Henry IV, iii.2, 309-310):

...and every third word a lie, durer paid to
hearer than the Turk's tribute.

More terror of the Turks is expressed in the threat of Lafeu in All's Well that Ends Well (ii.3, 92-94):

Lafeu....An they were sons of mine, I'd have them shipped; or I would send them to the Turk to make eunuchs of.

Turkish reputation for love-making seems to have been fairly well-established, also, for Edgar in King Lear (iii.4) declares:

...wine lov'd I deeply, dice dearly; and in woman out-paramoured the Turk.

The general classification in a rather uncomplimentary category includes the Turk, in Richard II (iv.1, 92-95):

Carlisle. Many a time hath banish'd Norfolk fought
For Jesu Christ in glorious Christian field,
Streaming the ensign of the Christian Cross
Against black papans, Turks, and Saracens;

Gloucester is highly insulted when he states, in Richard III (iii.5, 41):

"What, think you we are Turks or infidels?"

There is the nose of a Turk added to the magical stew of the witches in Macbeth (iv.1). This may have been an occasion where Elizabethan slander was directed at a particular characteristic of Turkish features--if a prominent nose may be considered typical of the Turk as of the Jew (see Chapter II, section 5).

There is a Turkish emperor named Amurack in Robert Greene's Alphonsus. He conspires to win Spanish favor and to maintain joint control with the Spanish over Italian possessions. Alphonsus calls him "pagan dog," and speaks of his cohorts as:

...wretched kings
Whose traitorous heads bedeck my tent so well?

Again (v.3) Alphonsus reminds the opportunist, Amurack (his future

father-in-law), that he is merely returning the "compliment" paid by the Turk to the Christian faith:

Alphonsus. Amurack, the proud blasphemous dogs,
For so you termed us, which did brawl and rail
Against God Mars, and fickle Fortune's wheel,
Have got the goal for all your solemn prayers.

The Turks are linked with the arrogant Spaniards of Arragon by the English who appear to be in sympathy with the oppressed Italians--the English being represented, of course, by the dramatist.

Finally, it seems that "Turk" was an Elizabethan handy word for anything unpleasant. The followers of Mohammed were cordially feared and hated as cruel, barbarous, militant infidels. It was not until the eighteenth century that aliens of this race were present in such numbers that the English public could form a different idea of their culture. In the hearts of Shakespeare's countrymen, hatred for the infidel was approximated only by the jealousy and respectful fear of Spain and the terrible Inquisition.

2. Spaniards

Spain was the most powerful and fashionable country of Europe in the sixteenth century.¹ The English fully recognized this fact and strove mightily to acquire the very traits they most admired in Spanish culture. The rivalry with Spain was by no means wholly a matter of Catholicism versus Protestantism, but in reality a struggle on the part of Spain to crush a rude upstart nation. But the Spanish started too late, and fortune ruled against them.²

Toward the middle of the sixteenth century, Henry VIII employed many doughty Spaniards as mercenaries in his wars against the Scotch and the French. Several Spanish captains were knighted, and signally honored otherwise, for their daring exploits.³

The Spaniards distinguished themselves as soldiers everywhere, while their proud galleons ruled the seas, carrying treasures to Spain from provinces in new worlds. Jealousy on the part of the English was only a natural result. Famous English captains, Drake and Hawkins, audaciously snapped at the heels of

1. Hume, Martin, A. S., Spanish Influence on English Literature, London, 1905, Chapter VII, pp. 184-214

2. Hume, M. A. S., Chronicle of King Henry VIII, p. 38. During the days of the Spanish Inquisition, Spaniards in England were fearful of forming any ties that might appear permanent. Request for citizenship would have meant death or excommunication--even if they had seriously considered such a condescension.

3. Hume, M. A. S., Chronicle of King Henry VIII, p. 198. "On the 25th of the month (September, 1547) the Protector conferred knighthood, amongst others, upon Pero Negro and Alonso de Vile..."

the ponderous Spanish Sea-dogs along the Spanish Main, stealing an occasional stray to bolster English pride. Spanish captives were carried home to England along with stolen treasures of gold or other valuable cargo. Depredations by the English "pirates," wars with France, Scotland and Spain, caused ill-feeling gradually to grow worse. Later in the reign of Elizabeth, prisoners were captured and exchanged by the English and the Spanish. In 1596 there appears the following account of the treatment of Spanish prisoners:¹

"Divers of our Englishmen that have been taken prisoners and carried into Spain are used there with great rigour and cruelty, some in Seville and other places condemned to death, others put into the galleys or afflicted with great extremities which is far otherwise than any of the Spanish prisoners are used here in England. Her Majesty, lest her favourable usage to her enemies may be taken for a neglect of her own subjects or a kind of awe of the Kind of Spain, now commandeth that such Spanish prisoners as yet remain in England shall be restrained from their gentle usage. Mr. Nicholas Owsley that hath heretofore brought prisoners from Spain and carried Spanish prisoners back is now appointed to search out all Spaniards that yet remain here and to carry them to Bridewell or some such prison of severe punishment; and all that have in their keeping any Spaniards shall deliver them to Mr. Owsley. Nevertheless any man that holdeth any prisoners for ransom is assured that no prisoner shall be sent out of the realm without the knowledge and satisfaction of the party whose lawful prisoner he is."

This reference sufficiently clarifies the various circumstances of Spaniards in the England of Shakespeare's time. Earlier, in a census of 1581, Spanish aliens are conspicuous by their absence from the records;²

1. Harrison, G. B., Elizabethan Journals, ii., pp. 107-108

2. Hume, M. A. S., Spanish Influence on English Lit., pp. 267-279

"In 1581 there was a very gull return of the strangers in the city, arranged by wards; it divides them into denizens and mere strangers; the total was 3,909, of whom 1,149 attended the French Church, 66 the Italian, 1,043 the English, 1,364 the Dutch, and 287 were of no Church."

Since there were comparatively few Spaniards in Elizabethan England, the problem of research here in this work is greatly simplified. Still further--and almost uniquely advantageous to the accomplishment of the objectives herein--Hume¹ offers quite a detailed treatment of "attitudes toward Spaniards reflected in the drama." He is quoted as follows:

"But it has no doubt struck readers how often he (Shakespeare) introduces personages of Spanish name, and with Spanish characteristics, in his plays, which, if it does nothing else, shows the influence of Spanish upon literary production generally. But, more than this, although there is no reason to believe that Shakespeare had more than the fashionable smattering of a few phrases in Spanish, it is curious to see how frequently he introduces such phrases into his plays. To take only one instance, that of the Ancient (or Ensign) Pistol, the swashbuckling soldier who had picked up Spanish in the wars, and interlards his boastful vaunts with it. Indeed, it is more than probable that the whole character of Pistol was an intentional burlesque upon a type that was considered to represent Spaniards at the time, and was known throughout Europe, both in real life and in the grandiose Spanish drama--namely the ostentatious Spanish captain, loud in his claims for personal distinction, vain and showy, pompous and grandiloquent. When Shakespeare wrote Henry V, such a burlesque could not fail to be popular in England, for the feeling against Spain was still very bitter, and the Spanish swashbuckler was an accepted type of boastfulness. He is made to pile quotation upon quotation, to indulge in outlandish oaths and strange threats; but, of course, is represented as an abject coward, and eats Fluellen's leek like a babe, for England was still at war with Spain, and enemies are rarely represented as heroes."

"But, to my mind, at least, another character in Shakespeare bears signs not only of being a caricature upon the heroic pertensions, the chivalrous pose, and the extravagant language, which were supposed to mark Spaniards in general,

1. Hume, M. A. S., Spanish Influence on English Lit. pp. 267-279

but of being intended for a burlesque upon a particular person. I mean the character of the Spaniard, Don Adriano Armado, in Love's Labour's Lost. I wish to dwell upon this point with some little attention, because, so far as I know, my theory is a new one, and I have formed it because I have had perhaps as good opportunities for studying the details of the person who, I think, was caricatured, as I suppose any Englishman. I mean Antonio Perez, the exiled Spanish Secretary of State. Love's Labour's Lost cannot originally have been written later than 1591, and Perez did not escape from Spain into France until November of that year; so that, if I am correct in my supposition, the points upon which I rely cannot have been introduced into the play until it was enlarged and partially rewritten for a court performance in 1597. Perez arrived in England in the autumn of 1593; and whilst he was, of course, made much of by the war party of Essex, he was greatly disliked and distrusted by Burghley and the moderates, as well as at first by Elizabeth herself. By all he was laughed at for his affectation, and envied for his malicious wit. Lady Bacon was violently angry that her son Francis should be so friendly with him; 'A proud, profane, costly fellow, whose being about him I verily believe the Lord God doth mislike'; and one of Anthony Bacon's agents of him in 1594: 'Surely he is, as we say, an odd man, and hath his full sight everywhere...I have hardly heard of him, yet, I know not how, I begin to admire him already.' He lived on the bounty of the Earl of Essex until Henry IV became jealous, and insisted upon his coming back to him in the summer of 1595. In France and in England, as in Spain, he betrayed and sold every one who trusted him. He had been spoilt and pampered to such an extent by Henry IV and by his English friends, that his presumption and caprice became unbearable. When he met Essex at Dover in 1596 he finally disgusted and offended the earl, and Thenceforward his star in England had set. In France he was still endured, though he finally tired out even Henry IV, who had treated him with almost royal honours. So that if we assume that the special touches of caricature that identify Don Antonio Armado with Perez were introduced into the play when it was recast for the court performance in 1597, the reason for the skit upon Essex's fallen favourite becomes at once apparent. The court, and the court only, would see the joke, which no one would have dared to make when Perez was in favour three years before, for then Perez would struck back with the sharp claws beneath his velvet paw.

"No one can read Perez's many published letters and the famous Relaciones written whilst he was in England, without identifying numerous affected turns of speech with those put into the mouth of Don Adriano Armado; and the description

given of Don Adriano by the King of Navarre, in the play, tallies exactly with the word-portraits remaining to us of Antonio Perez drawn from his own writings and those of his contemporaries. 'Our court, you know is haunted, says the king,

'With a refined traveller of Spain,
A man in all the world's new fashion planted,
That hath a mint of phrases in his brain;
One whom the music of his own vain tongue doth
Doth ravish, like enchanting harmony;
A man of complements, whom right and wrong
Have chose as umpire of their mutiny;
This child of fancy, that Armado hight,
For interim to our studies, shall relate,
In high-born words, the worth of many a knight
From tawny Spain, lost in the world's debate.
How you delight, my lords, I know not, I;
But, I protest, I live to hear him lie,
And I will use him for my minstrelsy.'

"The Constable then hands to the king Don Adriano's letter, giving an account of the clown Costard's violation of the king's order that there is to be no love-making in his court. Leaving out the interjections of the clown, the Spaniard's letter runs thus: 'Great deputy, the welkin's vice-regent and sole dominator of Navarre, my soul's earth's God, and body's fostering patron. So it is, besieged by sable-coloured melancholy, I did commend the black-oppressing humour to the most wholesome physic of thy health-giving air; and, as I am a gentleman, betook myself to walk. The time when? About the sixth hour, when beasts most graze, birds best peck, and men sit down to that nourishment which is called supper. So much for the time when. Now for the ground which; which, I mean, I walked upon; it is yclept thy park. Then for the place where; where, I mean, I did encounter that most obscene and proposterous event, that drawth from from my snow-white pen the ebon-coloured ink, which here thou viewest, beholdest, seest.'...And then follows, in equally bombastic strain, his account of his apprehension of the clown Costard, for flirting with Jaquenetta. This letter, absurd as its diction is, is hardly an exaggeration of Perez's usual epistolary style. For instance, this is a short extract taken at random from one of his letters written to Henry IV of France from England, saying he will return to France because he has left his soul behind him with the king, and without it he cannot live;--'Pardon me, sire,' he says, 'for the boldness of compliment; but the soul, sire, has its loves, and uses compliments as the body does--compliments which break and pass all bounds of earthly respect. I write,

too that your Majesty may entertain yourself with the Spanish language, of which you say that I am to be your master. Surely, sire, you have chosen a pretty barbarian for a master, barbarous in idea, in word, in all thing. I understand, rather, sire, that you will be my master; and from your sweet hand this rough pebble will marvellously receive polish; for great artificers thus show their cunning to the coarsest materials; even as royal souls imitate the acts of God in repairing that which is destroyed by others, who dare to show their sinister power by usurping the functions of the omnipotent.' To Essex's sister, Lady Rich, Perez sends a pair of gloves, with this letter:--'I have been so troubled not to have the dog's skin gloves your ladyship desires, that, pending the time when they shall arrive, I have resolved to sacrifice myself to your service, and flay a piece of my own skin from the most tender part of my body, if such an uncouth carcass as mine can have any tender skin. To this length can love and wish to serve a lady be carried, that a man should flay himself to make gloves for his lady. But in my case this is as nothing, for even the soul will skin itself for the person it loves'...And then Perez for two or three pages continues to ring the wearisome changes upon dogs and skins and souls, in a way that Don Adriano Armado himself could not have bettered. But there is another reason besides similarity of epistolary style that seems to support my belief that Shakespeare was personally caricaturing Perez in Don Adriano Armado. Perez gave himself several nicknames; but he had one favourite, one that he never tired of from first to last, and under which he wrote his book. This name was 'Peregrino,' or 'Rafael Peregrino.' He signed himself this in countless letters, and his affected play upon the word was ceaseless. Peregrinate is, and always has been, an extremely rarely used English word, so that its introduction by Shakespeare, especially applied to Don Adriano Armado, is significant. The two pedantic scholars are discussion Armado, and between them they describe Antonio Perez to the life thus:--

'Sir Nathaniel. I did converse this quondam day with a companion of the kings, who is intituled, nominated, or called, Don Adriano de Armado.'

'Holofernes. Novi hominem tanquam te: his humour is lofty, his discourse peremptory, his tongue filed, his eye ambitious, his gait majestical, and his general behaviour vain, ridiculous, thrasonical. He is too picked, too spruce, too affected, too odd, as it were, too peregrinate, as I may call it.'

'Sir Nathaniel. A most singular and choice epithet.'

"When Armado enters, and boasts to the pedants of his intimacy with the King of Navarre, he says 'I must tell thee, it will please his grace, by the world, sometime to lean upon my poor shoulder and with his royal finger, thus, dally with my excrement--my moustachio--but let that pass. By the world, I recount no fable; some certain special honour it pleaseth his greatness to impart to Armado, a soldier, a man of travel, that hath seen the world; but let that pass.'"

"At the period that the play was represented at court (1597), Antonio Perez was so much favoured by Henry IV that the king would hardly let him out of his sight, and Essex had been deeply offended with the ingratitude of Perez in preferring to remain in France; so that it is easily understood that a burlesque upon Henry's affection for him would not be displeasing to Shakespeare's patron at the time. It has already been suggested by Shakespearian scholars, that the character of the Jew Shylock may have been taken from the celebrated Jew, Dr. Ruy Lopez, Queen Elizabeth's physician, who after many years of favour entangled himself in politics, and was executed for a supposed design to poison the queen in the interests of Spain. The Earl of Essex was his bitter enemy, and the cause of his death in 1594; anything that presented a Jew like Lopez in an odious light would please the earl and his set. Lopez certainly figured in other plays soon after his death--in Marlowe's Jew of Malta, and Dr. Faustus; in Dekker's Lady of Babylon, and in Middleton's Game of Chess. The Merchant of Venice was first seen on the stage two months after Lopez's execution (7th June 1594), when all the country was ringing with the News of the unpopular Jew's fate. Everybody had known that Lopez was an avaricious greedy man, and a poisoner by profession, and that he had outwardly conformed to Christianity. It will be recollected that, when Portia in the trial scene demands that Shylock shall become a Christian, he makes no demur whatever. Lopez, indeed, was fond of dwelling upon his Christianity, and constantly speaks in his letters to the Spanish agents of the 'great remedy for Christendom' that is to be effected by his means. On the scaffold, even, he made a despairing reference to his love of Christ. Probably Shakespeare had this in his mind when he puts these words into Antonio's mouth:--

'The Devil can cite Scripture for his purpose.
An evil soul producing holy witness
Is like a villain with a smiling cheek,
A goodly apple rotten at the heart.'

"One is struck, too, by the very frequent use of Spanish scenes and personages in plays of the English Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists, which, although they are not always traceable to a known source--for at least a thousand plays of Lope de Vega alone have been lost--suggest a Spanish origin. Kyd's Geronimo and Spanish Tragedy are both saturated with Spanish feeling; so is Fletcher's Spanish Curate. Ben Jonson in his Alchymist introduces a scene where one of the characters, a member of a gang of swindlers, is made up as a Spanish nobleman, for the purpose of imposing upon a foolish young man and his widowed sister, who is to be married to the supposed Spaniard for the sake of her fortune. The scene is played half in Spanish, and very good Spanish it is considering; and when the pretended count is introduced, the poor, innocent lady who is to be deluded, asks, when she is told that she is to be a Spanish countess, 'Why! is it better than an English countess?' After an expression of indignant surprise at so foolish a question, the led captain who is carrying through the swindle replies: 'Ask from your courties, from your Inns of Court man, from your mere milliner; they will tell you all...Your Spanish Jennet is the best house, your Spanish Stoup the best garb, your Spanish beard the best cut, your Spanish ruffs the best wear, your Spanish pavan the best dance, your Spanish titillation in a glove the best perfume; and as for your Spanish pike and Spanish blade,¹ let your poor captain speak.' This will give an idea of the extent to which the fashion for things Spanish had pervaded the English court in the early part of the seventeenth century, and how dramatists, amongst others, took their inspiration from Spain. To such an extent must this have been done, that they were sometimes inclined to apologise to English audiences for pilfering so lately from a nation then so unpopular as Spain; or, as an alternative, they were fond of making the most markedly Spanish characters despicable, and of flattering English vanity by showing how much superior English morality was to Spanish. For instance, in Fletcher's Rule a Wife and Have a Wife, the prologue thus excuses the origin of the play and its tendency:--

'Pleasure attend ye, and about ye sit
The springs of mirth, of fancy, delight, and wit,
To stir you up: do not your looks let fall,
Nor to remembrance our late errors call.
Because to-day we're Spaniards all again,
The story of our play, our scene, in Spain.

-
1. There is much support of this statement by Hume to be found in Shakespeare: In Othello (v.2) "a sword of Spain" is mentioned; in Love's Labour's Lost (i.2), "a Spaniard's rapier"; in All's Well that Ends Well (iv.1), "a Spanish sword"; in Romeo and Juliet (i.4), "Spanish blades."

The errors, too, do not for this cause hate,
 Now we present their wit, and not their State.
 Nor, ladies, be not angry if you see
 A young, fresh beauty, wanton and too free,
 Seek to abuse her husband:--still 'tis Spain--
 No such gross errors in your kingdom reign.'

The point of view which Hume advances is quite compatible with the intentions of this chapter--the revelation of Elizabethan attitudes in the drama. However, he confines the principal part of his analysis to Shakespeare, dismissing Kyd's Spanish Tragedy much too lightly. Kyd's "tragedy of blood" was the most popular of all Elizabethan plays, including all of the plays of Shakespeare. Reasons for its popularity involve relations between Spain and England, and definitely give this play a position of importance here. But first, there is another play of Shakespeare which is linked even more closely with the Spanish situation than Love's Labour's Lost. That play is Othello, and Winstanley¹ presents a theory which is quite plausible in most respects. She claims for Othello allegorical significance as The Tragedy of Italy citing such noteworthy illustrations for sixteenth century allegory as Spenser's Faerie Queen:²

"It is very generally agreed that Spenser's Red Cross Knight (Book I) represents England, that Orgoglio and Mammon represent Spain, that Irene is Ireland, Belge is Belgium, and so forth...Moreover, let us note that Orgoglio and Mammon represent both Philip II of Spain and Spain itself; the poet is perfectly justified in this method of treatment because, as a matter of fact, Philip II of Spain was regarded, both by his own people and by the other nations of Europe, as a sort of incarnation of the genius of Spain...Similarly, Britomart is Elizabeth and England and the virtue of Chastity as well..."

1. Winstanley, Lilian, "Othello" as the Tragedy of Italy

2. *Ibid.*, p. 32

"Now, one of my critics blamed me for applying a system admittedly true of Spenser to Shakespeare. He did not deny that Spenser's poem was made up of this peculiar kind of mythology, but Spenser, he said, was an archaist and an egocentric who stood alone in his age. This is simply untrue. Spenser is exactly and accurately representative of the mind of the sixteenth century."

The Italian, Alessandro Tassoni,¹ in the Filippiche (1615), possibly modeled after Othello, furnished the germ of her idea:

"The Moorish adventurer is Spain; the lovely lady is Venice--the last free State of Italy--and the subjugation of Venice will therefore mean the total loss of Italian freedom and the ruin of Italy. The author is warning the princes of Italy against permitting Venice to fall under the power of Spain because, if they do, the total destruction of her liberties and of the liberties of the whole of Italy must inevitably follow."

Ingeniously and logically, Winstanley explains the circumstances and analogues of her allegorical interpretation: Philip II of Spain sought control of the last Italian free state, Venice.² Sympathetic Protestants all over Europe encouraged Venice to resist. But the Turkish threat of 1571 forced Venice into a

1. Ibid., p. 20

2. Greene's History of Alphonsus, King of Arragon, appears to be a dramatization in part of Spanish conquest in Italy.

Alphonsus is the ambitious, resourceful, unscrupulous, courageous Spaniard who traitorously dupes the Neapolitan, king Belinus, into placing him in power. The ungrateful Alphonsus leads the army brought by his usurping cousin to complete the conquest of the Italian states--the states which have sheltered him in exile. The conqueror even goes so far as to form an alliance with the "blasphemous dogs", the Turks.

Greene's play may be said to represent the English point of view of the Spanish-Italian political situation. His Spaniards are treacherous and avaricious, but also brave and resourceful. In addition to these attributes the representative, Alphonsus, is quite susceptible to love, especially when it might lead to a union of advantage. The English drama sympathizes with the suffering Italians who complain (i.2):

dangerous alliance with Spain. The cruel Philip thus achieved his wishes in regard to the complete domination of the Italian Peninsula. The haughty, hated monarch rode the crest of power until his own cruelty, jealousy and cupidity caused his downfall. Winstanley quotes historians who recognize the possibility of Philip's having been responsible, at least indirectly, for the murder of his queen, while his banished minister, Antonio Perez, seems to have spread the infamy of his king to every corner of Europe.

Vilification of enemy nations in mythology and allegory was an established Renaissance practice. Among numerous illustrations of this practice the following are included:

"Elizabeth is the subject of another vast mythology; when this is Spanish it is obscene and shocking to a degree better imagined than described; when it is Hugénot of English or Dutch it is full of radiant compliment..."

"Dekker has a whole play, 'The Whore of Babylon,' whose scene is laid in a fairy island, which is England and which is defended by magic storms, and where the whole empire of Spain suffers shipwreck; the heroine is 'Titania, Queen of the Fairies,' whom Dekker himself defines as 'our late Queen Elizabeth.'"2

"Drake has a wonderful and very large mythology; to the Spaniards he was a dragon, a wizard, and a devil; he kept a whole legion of devils in his employ who raised tempests for him whenever tempests were useful against Spain. To the English, Drake was a magic being, a spirit all of air and fire..."3

Belinus... haughty Arragon,
Who with a mighty power of straggling mates
Hath traitorously assailed this our land,
And burning towns, and sacking cities fair,
Doth play the devil wheresome'er he comes.

1. Winstanley, Lillian, "Othello" As the Tragedy of Italy, p.39
2. Ibid., p. 40
3. Ibid., p.41

In a brief reiteration¹ this vilification of the Spaniards becomes extreme:

"There existed in the sixteenth century a whole vast mythology relating to contemporary history. In this mythology, which is to be found in many languages--in English, in French, in Italian, in Spanish, in Dutch, and in hundreds of different writers--certain symbols had a quite definite and common meaning. Thus, by all the peoples who hated the power of Spain, or who, even in Spain itself, were antagonistic to Castile, it was customary to designate the Castilians as either Moors or Jews."

"Modern historians, such as H. Forneron, consider that there is a real ethnological basis for this point of view--that the common people of Castile are, very largely, of Jewish or Moorish blood. It is not germane to our purpose to consider whether H. Forneron be right or wrong. The essential point is that the sixteenth century believed it; that they considered the Castilians to be of Moorish and Jewish blood, not Europeans and regularly represented as such."

Thus the critic claims that Tassoni's interpretation is correctly modeled, not only in plot, but intentions after Shakespeare--Shakespeare who is representing the attitude of the English, in sympathy with oppressed Italy and opposed to hateful Spain:

Othello is "Moorish" Philip,² who marries--or "annexes"--the fair, delightful creature, Desdemona, or Venice. Iago³

1. Ibid., p. 63

2. Ibid., p. 82: "Note how this conception in all its main outlines corresponds to Shakespeare's magnificent Othello: a Moor, but an heroic Moor, fully experienced in war, for the Spanish veterans were acknowledged as the finest infantry in Europe, possessed of utter calmness in the face of danger."

3. Ibid., p. 111: "The very name--Iago--means someone Spanish. It was the name of the national shrine--St. Iago of Compostella. It was as typical of Spain as the Red Cross Knight (St. George) was typical of England." The significance here may be seen in the association of Iago, the incarnation of villainy and evil, with a name so typically Spanish. There is no certainty in this significance, but the association may be remarked, nevertheless. Nor is it entirely fair to say that an audience then was less acute than an audience--or a group of critics--today. They were much nearer to the circumstances of that day than any one of the present time.

is Antonio Perez¹ who hates Philip intensely--not without cause--and eventually works the ruin of his royal enemy as well as himself. Winstanley states assuredly that Perez "made Philip frenziedly jealous of Don John of Austria so that he deposed him from his favour and attempted his life." Thus Don John is represented by Cassio quite appropriately. Even the circumstances surrounding the handkerchief, and the death of Roderigo are paralleled in the play, according to the critic.

Winstanley and Hume have several points in common, especially in regard to Perez who was certainly a Spanish alien in Elizabethan England. Hatred for the Spain which Philip represented did not cause the Spanish Perez to be received unkindly. He was really an enemy of Philip who merely represented Spain; therefore, he was not looked upon as a traitor but as a brilliant Spaniard who saw things as the English saw them. The representation of Perez in the drama of Shakespeare seems a valid reflection of general opinions of the time, in regard to one type of Spanish alien, at least.

The plays of Shakespeare, however, began to appear several years after the first Great Armada had met with disaster. Among the group of earlier writers there was Thomas Kyd, who aptly captured the spirit of that historical period. His Spanish Tragedy was written (according to Henslowe's Diary, i.13; ii.153)

1. Ibid., p. 98: "Perez came to England for a brief time in the year Othello was written (see Venetian State Papers, March 4th, 1604)."

between 1586-1588. Harrison¹ records its presentation at least fifteen times during the years, 1591 to 1593. The title, together with Senecan influences of bloodshed and horror in the drama, matched the troublous spirit of the times, hence its popularity in part may be accounted for. Tame blank verse, ranting and rhetoric rob it of artistic equality with a Marlowe or a Shakespeare:

At the beginning of Act One, the Ghost speaks: "I was a courtier in the Spanish Court." He had met his death "in the late conflict in Portingale." His long speech includes mention of "walls of brass," a fantastic idea for the protection of England, which Greene made use of in Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay.

The Spanish King is noble and rather straightforward.² He is "the mighty King of Spain (iii.1). On the stage this powerful monarch is represented not unfavorably as he exacts tribute from conquered Portugal. The fate of Portugal may have served as warning to England (i.2):

General. Victory, my liege, and that with little loss.
King. Our Portingals will pay us tribute, then?
General. Tribute and wanted homage withal.

The horrors of battle are pictured, and the spectre of Spanish invasion probably caused the Elizabethan audience more than a

1. Harrison, G. B., Elizabethan Journals, vol. i.

2. This representation arises from no love of Spain, but rather, perhaps, out of respect (for royalty) which seldom permitted the ridicule of a powerful monarch on the stage in Elizabeth's time.

few moments of uneasiness (i.2):

General.. On every side drop captains to the ground,
And soldiers, some ill-maim'd some slain outright;
Here falls a body sund'red from his head,
There legs and arms lie bleeding on the grass,
Mingled with weapons and unbowell'd steeds,
That scattering overspread the purple plain.

Spanish soldiers are "brave men at arms," "worthy chevaliers," but Bel-Imperia speaks of Don Balthazar as the "murderous" coward who could not have killed her Andrea in single combat.

The Viceroy of Portugal blames Spanish gold for Alexandro's alleged betrayal of Balthazar (i.3), and illustrates the notion of the famed wealth of Renaissance Spain.

Act One ends with further praise of Spanish power, but England's praise is greater. There is some historical justification for this patriotic "outburst" in Spanish Hieronimo's masque before a Spanish king, but "little England" (line 45) strikes the key-note that might have soured the patriotic music, had the Elizabethan ear been tuned to a realization of national inferiority:

"(Enter Hieronimo, with a drum, three knights, each his scutcheon; then he fetches three kings; they take their crowns and them captive.)"

Hieronimo. The first arm'd knight, that hung his
 schtcheon up,
Was English Robert, Earl of Gloucester,
Who, when King Stephen bore sway in Albion,
Arriv'd with five and twenty thousand men
In Portingale, and by success of war
Enforc'd the king, then but a Saracen,
To bear the yoke of English monarchy.

.

The second knight, that hung his scutcheon up...
 Was Edmund, Earl of Kent in Albion,
 When English Richard wore the diadem.
 He came likewise, and razed Lisbon walls,
 And took the King of portingale in fight;
 For which and other such-like service done
 He after was created Duke of York.
 King. This is another special argument,
 That Portingale may deign to bear our yoke,
 When it by little England hath been yok'd.
 But now, Hieronimo, what were the last?
 Hieronimo. The third and last, not least, in our account,
 Was, as the rest, a valiant Englishman,
 Brave John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster,
 As by his scutcheon plainly may appear.
 He with a puissant army came to Spain,
 And took our King of Castile prisoner.
 Ambassador. This is an argument for our viceroy
 That Spain may not insult for her success,
 Since English warriors likewise conquered Spain,
 And made them bow their knees to Albion.

The Spanish king is called a mere Saracen who was forced to bow to English authority--a statement apparently meant to infer that English civilization had flourished while the Spanish were still heathen. "Little England" swells with pride, like the frog in the fable, as the dramatist recounts the glory of York. (Perhaps it was mainly a storm which saved her from a like fate.) Lancaster completes this list of English invaders who humbled mighty Spain. Now, says the King of Spain, it is necessary for Portugal to join forces with her great neighbor who is not sufficiently strong to repel the rampaging English. The attitude here represented is quite reminiscent of modern propaganda used frequently to bolster the morale of a nation secretly fearful of attack by a superior, powerful enemy.

In the characters of Pedringano, Lorenzo, and Balthazar (Balthazar, a Portugese in league with Spaniards) the Spanish

are represented as masters of murder, plot, and counterplot. Love provides the motivation for murder; murder incites the noble to terrible revenge, all of which the hot-blooded Spanish passionately attend. Pedringano represents the type which gladly murdered for money (ii.4, 12-13).

In hostile times, prisoners were often worth great sums of money--of Spanish gold. The King's speech (ii.3) may have brought to the minds of Kyd's audience the thought of the current practice whereby prisoners were exchanged at a price.

"The Spaniards are terribly cruel," is the inference of the following passage (ii.4), wherein Lorenzo quips as he commits murder:

Bel-Imperia. O, save his life, and let me die for him!
O, save him, brother; save him Balthazar;
Ilov'd Horatio; but he lov'd not me.
Balthazar. But Balthazar loves Bel-imperia.
Lorenzo. Although his life were still ambitious, proud,
Yet is he at the highest now he is dead.

The inhuman practices of the Inquisition were also brought to possible notice as further evidence of Spanish cruelty when the King threatens Hieronimo (v.4):

King. Fetch forth the tortures: traitor as thou art,
I'll make thee tell all.

... ..

From the preceding analyses, conclusions may be easily drawn:

The Renaissance English were not a solidly organized, amalgamated people, capable of a unified, thorough, national hatred, but a heterogeneous race, with varying attitudes. The Queen herself held no particular grudge; some of the people, too, were

guilty of having dealt not unkindly with representatives of a dangerous, hostile nation, so that legislation was required to enforce the proper decorum.¹

Since plays reveal much of the opinion of the public, the attitude toward the Spaniards, as it appeared in the drama, was a mixture of hatred, suspicion, jealousy, disdain, fear, and down-right--often ill-concealed, and never admitted openly--admiration. The vaunted hatred of Spain which historians--and here Hume as well as Winstanley comes in for a just share of criticism--emphasize, usually appears in the drama to be merely the ridicule of an inferiority complex which seeks to reduce a superior to its own level through persecution, or annoyance, meanwhile puffing its own ego through emulating almost subconsciously that which it constantly admires.

1. The following entry appears in Harrison's Journals, ii.p.118: "28th July. The Spanish prisoners that are in the City having had notice of the late order keep themselves close in secret places so that they may not be taken going abroad. The Lord Mayor is now to make diligent inquiry where any Spaniards or professed subjects of the King of Spain are harboured and to cause them to be apprehended and carried to Bridewell to receive at least some part of that usage whereof our countrymen do taste in more extremity in the King's dominions."

3. Frenchmen

Attitudes of the English toward French aliens varied from hatred to tolerance, with the former attitude predominating generally. In English public opinion there seem to be three levels of appreciation for these foreigners. Not only is there evidence of political suspicion, economic jealousy and militant hostility on the part of the upper classes, including English royalty, but there appear also indications of traditional contempt for all Frenchmen as warriors. Contempt largely eliminates fear; thus the next level in this scale is toleration through a self-inflated sense of superiority. The basis of this latter attitude was the Elizabethan Protestantism which sheltered the Huguenots fleeing from persecution in France.

Political suspicion and economic jealousy found root in wars of conquest in France. France had served as a convenient battleground for England and Spain for many years. English kings sought to gain the favor of their subjects, on more than an occasional instance, by glorious exploits in that country. Ironically enough, it was a French woman who let her "futile" countrymen to push the English back across the channel, and, finally to deprive them of their last foot hold upon the continent.

Animosity increased when the French in retaliation seduced the favor of Scotland, thereby making a dangerous neighbor of England their own ally. There were ties of kinship which linked

the royal houses of both countries. England's troops fought with French soldiers to resist the Spanish conquest of France from 1596 to 1598.¹ When this war was ended and the French sought to recoup lost fortunes through trade expansion, the English could tolerate no infringement on what they considered their principal rights. Economic jealousy and commercial rivalry were made the basis for much future ill-feeling toward Frenchmen. With the accession of James I (1603), peaceful relations with France were placed on a more firm footing, for Scotland had been long an ally of that country. A succession of entries from Harrison's Journals is illustrative of this political situation during the latter part of the sixteenth century, and serves a double purpose in revealing the attitude toward a particular type of French aliens:

"13th August (1592). Being Sunday the Count Mompelgard attended the French service and afterwards at midday partook of a magnificent banquet provided by the French ambassador. The French wine did not agree with the Count, though he relished the beer exceedingly."²

"21st February (1593). The French ambassador with his family is specially allowed by the Council to be served with meat by his own butcher during Lent, but bonds are put in that the butcher do not sell meat to others under colour of this order."³

"4th November (1599). A speech of my Lord Admiral that with such an army as the Earl of Essex had, the French King might be driven out of France, occasioned the French ambassador to come to Court, and he is said to have complained."⁴

Evidence of the existance of this attitude is reflected in the drama. Shakespeare's representation of Joan of Arc, of

1. Harrison, B. G., The Elizabethan Journals, vol. I, pp. 145, 170, 193

2. Ibid., i., p. 152

3. Ibid., i., p. 198

4. Montgomery, D. H., English History, footnote, p. 169

Margaret of Anjou, of several French kings, and of the Dauphin (Charles VII), gives evidence of antipathy which is largely traditional. In his treatment of these characters, Shakespeare has the support of Holinshed's Chronicles to justify, in some measure, his presentations. Joan of Arc was never even a visitor in England, so far as is known, but her exploits influenced the attitudes toward Frenchmen who did go there. In 1 Henry VI, the sainted Maid of France fares terribly at the hands of Shakespeare: After first demonstrating her fighting ability (i.2), she is allowed to lead French forces at Orleans (i.6). Talbot's remarks (ii.2) are not at all complimentary to her. Burgundy declared (iii.3) he has been bewitched into dissolving his alliance with the English by her craft. Later (5.3) she offers herself to fiends who were her former consorts, but when they forsake her, she is captured. Then Shakespeare--or Holinshed--really makes a jade of her (v.4) as she is represented denying her own father, then pleading pregnancy for which she accuses Alencon and Reignier. Cursing the English, she is carried away to be executed.

This representation can be taken only as an insult to the French, whether the incidents are historically justified or not.

Margaret of Anjou is a cruel, heartless, ambitious, spiteful, avaricious, capable Frenchwoman, in Elizabethan drama. Her activities also influenced attitudes toward her countrymen, and she actually spent more than a little of her time in England, before 1475. In 2 Henry VI (i.3) she speaks derogatively of Henry;

later she becomes furious with the Duchess of Gloucester who pokes fun at her poverty, and actually strikes the Duchess. She plots with Suffolk (iii.1) and Beaufort the death of Gloucester. Her love for Suffolk is revealed (iii.2) later. York speaks of her (v.1) as "outcast of Naples, England's bloody scourge!"

In 3 Henry VI (i.4) she places a paper crown on the head of York whom she violently hates, and stabs him with her own hand. The last act (v.5) finds her a prisoner, with her espoused cause completely lost and her son killed. She is ransomed by her father (v.7) and sent away to France.

Richard III reveals the terrible Margaret (i.3) reviling the house of York and even frightening Queen Elizabeth with her terrible curses (iv.1).

The King of France in All's Well that Ends Well is not an ignoble figure. He is cruel in refusing aid to the Florentines and in claiming the life of Helena should her proffered remedy fail to cure him of his illness. However, he allows his nobles to serve the Florentinians (ii.2) and requites royally the girl's interest in his behalf.

Charles VI, in Shakespeare's Henry V, is a wise and just monarch whose good sense in estimating the strength of the English properly is a compliment to his intelligence.

His son deserves, in part at least, the appellations which he attaches to Henry V: "a vain, giddy, shallow, humorous youth." He boasts of having sent Henry the Paris tennis balls in token of his scorn (ii.4).

The Dauphin in 1 Henry VI is allowed little of the dignity due royalty by the dramatist. Joan of Arc overpowers him; he is practically never successful at anything except boasting, and at the conclusion (v.4) he swears allegiance to the English Crown.

He casts his own character, with the willing aid of several French nobles:

Dauphin. I will trot to-morrow a mile, and my way shall be paved with English faces...(Exit)

Orleans. The Dauphin longs for morning.

Rambures. He longs to eat the English.

Constable. I think he will eat all he kills.

Thus is the French royal heir represented, and this representation continues to include all Frenchmen who opposed the English after Crecy and Poitiers.

Among Shakespeare's many allusions to Frenchmen on this higher level of estimation, there are passages which indicate certain attitudes: On the march through France, Henry V (iii.6) orders that everything be paid for that is taken from the French. But there is contempt in his words to the Frenchman, Montjoy:

My people are with sickness much enfeebled,
My numbers lessen'd, and those few I have
Almost no better than so many French...

The Chorus in Henry V speaks of the "confident and over-lusty French" before the battle of Agincourt. The tune changes after an English victory, and Montjoy comes to beg permission to bury French dead. King Henry is a magnanimous victor who extends the hand of courtesy and kindness to a conquered enemy as he gives God the credit for all success achieved.

Amity is indicated (v.1) after peace is declared and Henry is united with Alice of France:

Queen Isabella. That English may as French, French Englishmen Receive each other.

In Shakespeare's King John (iii.1) Philip II of France is a treacherous, vacillating ally.

The patriotic dramatist, Thomas Heywood,¹ tells of "The trecherous falshood of the Duke of Burgundy and the Constable of France," in his 2 King Edward IV (1605).

Vilification of the French Nobility and ridicule arising from economic jealousy greeted the Frenchman from the Elizabethan stage. There he appeared a voluble, overpolished, generally treacherous, more or less effeminate representative of a race whose women were more effective than the men as fighters. To Crecy and Poitiers, Agincourt was added. At each of these places it was the common Englishman who had really earned the glory of victory. Against great odds they had conquered French forces--and history agrees with this view point, generally--and built up an everlasting opinion of contempt for the physical prowess of the foe.

Records reveal a large number of the members of the lower class French aliens present in Elizabethan England. Cunningham's book² contains accounts of French towns at Nottingham and Norwich as early as the twelfth century. The census³ of aliens in 1581

1. L. B. Wright states in his Middle-class Culture in Elizabethan England (p.650): "In all the plays of Heywood there breathes a spirit of sturdy independence and patriotism. Spainards, Italians, and French are held up to ridicule..."

2. Cunningham, W., Alien Immigrants in England, p. 36

3. Ibid., p. 150

reveals 1,149 persons attending the French church of London. "Peter Bawde, a Frenchman, 'Mader of Bombards,' had several of his countrymen in his employ."¹ At Yarmough, in the 1570's, the intrusion of French fishermen who settled there was deeply resented by the natives. Jealousy of any alien group which furnished any sort of serious competition to English trade was a natural consequence of immigration, especially since the Crown favored industrious foreign artisans and professionals.²

From the Elizabethan Journals³ there is taken this account of an alien who appears to be French:

"July 10 (1598). John Barrose, a Burgonian by nation and a fencer by profession, that lately came over and challenged all the fencers of England, was hanged all day without Ludgate for killing an officer of the City which had arrested him for debt..."

This attitude toward members of the lower classes is also reflected in the drama:

In Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor there is a notable instance in the character of Dr. Caius. He is a respectable alien residing among the English whose common people serve him just as readily, or at least without any particular aversion. He is even considered an eligible suitor for the hand of lovely Anne Page. He makes a rather ridiculous figure as a lover, but his appearance of some affluence makes him the mother's choice. This instance compares interestingly enough with the case of Black Folks as aliens (Section 4, following) and the horror of miscegenation.

1. Ibid., p. 142

2. Ibid., p. 154

3. Harrison, G. B., The Elizabethan Journals, vol.II, p. 289

He is a "dueling Frenchman," although quite harmless¹ as such: He sends Evans a challenge (i.4) which results in nothing nearly like bloodshed, in spite of his terrible threats.

His use of the English language is evidence of further ridicule on the part of the dramatist (i.4):

Caius. By gar, I vill kill de Jack priest...
By gar, he has save his soul, dat he is no come;

The clever Mistress Quickly makes quite a fool of him.

His gullibility and Falstaffian valour make him a butt for much sport in the hands of the Host. Finally (v.5), he is duped again in the forest at the fairy scene where he is left holding a disguised boy instead of the expected Anne Page.

George Chapman's Monsieur D'Olive (1606) presents a French scene with Frenchmen who are "complimented" in their being privileged to act like Englishmen on the Elizabethan stage, it seems: Rhoderique says of Monsieur D'Olive (i.1):

What, Mondieur D'Olive! the only admirer of wits
and good words.

The good D'Olive appears to be quite "English" as he speaks of himself(i.1):

D'Olive. What a hell 'tis for a man to be tied to the continual charge of a coach, with the appurtenances, horse, men, and so forth; and then to have a man's house pestered with a whole country of guests, grooms, panders, waiting-maids...I careful to please my wife, she careless to displease me, shrewish if she be honest, intolerable if she be wise, imperious as an empress, all she does must be law, all she says gospel! Oh, what a penance 'tis to endure her; I be glad to forbear still, all to keep her loyal, and yet perhaps when all's done, my heir shall be like my horse-keeper; fie on't; the very thought of marriage were able to cool the hottest liver in France.

1. William Fennor comments (The Elizabethan Underworld, edited by A. V. Judges, p. 438): "...it (drink) makes a man as valiant as Hercules, though he were as cowardly as a Frenchman when he is sober."

There is no ridicule present in Chapman's characterization of Monsieur D'Olive or any of the other personages in the play. His pseudo-historical tragedy, Bussy D'Ambois, (1607) is a picture of French court life that is not uncomplimentary, while Bussy D'Ambois himself could easily become a disillusioned, cynical British courtier, merely by changing his name.

Shakespeare's As You Like It serves as further illustration of what may be considered at least a "lefthanded compliment" to aliens, revealing no element of real hostility, offering no ridicule to Frenchmen--for the delightful scene and charming characters are English. In other words, the English dramatist has no particular dislike for the French which prevents him from allowing Englishmen to masquerade as fine Frenchmen. Of the play in question, H. H. Furness¹ has this to say:

"'The Forest of Arden' was no forest in far-away France, but was the enchanted ground of their own home. That Shakespeare intended it to be so regarded, and meant to keep his audience at home, no matter in what foreign country so-ever the scene be laid, may be detected, I think, in the allusion to 'Robin Hood,' a name around which clustered all the romance of forest life. Let that name be once uttered as a keynote, and every charm of life render the greenwood tree, be it in the forest of Sherwood or of Arden, is summoned up and the spell of the mighty magician begins."²

1. Furness, H. H., "As You Like It," Variorum Shakespeare, p.18

2. (Ed. note) It is almost impossible to repress an observation at this point on the attitude of the critics in regard to Shakespeare's Englishmen who masquerade as foreigners, with foreign names and foreign exterior. There seems to be a tendency on the part of the critics--most of them, anyway--to designate as "really English," any play, character, action, scene or speech which is representative of anything that may be considered praiseworthy. Foreigners who misbehaved on the Shakespearean stage, aliens who did not represent the "ideal Englishman" merely were being presented in the true characteristics of their ancestry. Of course there is enough evidence

There is ridicule of the French in The Hector of Germany (1612), by Wentworth Smith. Fleay's comment on this play is summarized:¹

"Fleay says that interesting features about The Hector of Germany are that it was played, not by the regular actors, but by a company of young men of the city. These youths were not only intensely interested in the progress of relations indicated by the popular marriage (The German Frederick V had just married the daughter of king James) but showed this interest by actually learning and presenting a play in honor of the foreign prince who had been but recently adopted into the English Royal Household."

The final act presents a scene which is indicative of English attitudes toward the French, especially in the year 1612. An Englishman and a Frenchman meet on stage. The conversation which follows gives each the opportunity to criticize the manners and customs of the other's native land. Of course the Englishman is allowed to present the stronger argument. They discuss nobles, tradesmen and women. The latter subject of discussion leads to an interesting description of individuals of other nations--from the English point of view, somewhat modified by the presence of the German prince, for whom the play was staged:

Englishman. You are no Traveller, and therefore Ile beare with your ignorance; but know this, your Spanyard, as he is prowde, hee kisses proudly, as if hee scornde the touch of a ladies' lippe; marry, you Frenchmen draw it in, as if hee would swallow her alive; now the Italian has soone done with the upper parts, to be tickling of the lower: and we Englishmen can never take enough at both endes.

to support this attitude of many critics--Elizabethan dramatists most often pandered to their public. But if Shylock had proved himself sufficiently noble in the eyes of his early audiences, would he have been "just an Englishman, after all"? There is a possibility here for an affirmative conjecture.

1. "The Hector of Germany" by Wentworth Smith, in Series in Philology and Literature. Introduction, Publication of the University of Pa., Vol. XI, Phila., 1906, p. 55

The Englishman and the Frenchman exit as friends to return later to the stage gloriously drunk. This gesture may also be intended to make the German prince feel at home. The Germans held quite a reputation for heavy drinking at that time.¹

The French flare for fancy clothes may have aroused envy as well as English disdain. An illustration of this possibility appears in Henry V:

King Henry. And my poor soldiers tell me, yet ere night
They'll be in fresher robes. or they will pluck
The gay new coats o'er the French soldiers' heads
And turn them out of service.

In a different light, further aspersion is cast in 1 Henry VI (iv.7,54) when Sir William Lucy speaks:

Submission, Dauphin! 'tis a mere French word,
We English warriors wot not what it means!

Marlowe contributes more ridicule, as well as a description of another side of French nature, in The Jew of Malta. Near the end of Act Five, Barabas appears disguised to work the ruin of Bellamira and Ithamore:

Bellamira. A French musician!--Come, let's hear your skill.
Barabas. Must tuna my lute for sound, twang, twang, first.

The distorted language is not unusual as a type of funmaking. Bellamira's exclamation may serve as an indication that French musicians were neither unfavorably nor little known in Marlowe's time.

The third variation of attitudes toward French aliens was influenced by the Catholic persecution of Frenchmen. The terrible massacre of Huguenots at Paris occurred in 1572. Protestant

1. See Portia's speech, The Merchant of Venice (i.2,92-98), or Iago's lines in Othello (ii.3,8-81)

Frenchmen fled to England in great numbers and were sympathetically received there;

"In 1562, when Elizabeth threw herself into alliance with the Huguenots, and the north of France was in a very disturbed condition, there was a considerable immigration from Rouen and Dieppe. These Frenchmen landed at Rye, but the permanent settlement there does not appear to have been large. Each successive flight across the Channel, occasioned by civil strife in France, was followed by pacifications and the return of many of the refugees. Though the stay in England was of short duration, the number of the fugitives on each occasion was for the time being, large. The third influx, after the massacre in 1572, consisted of nearly the entire Protestant population of Dieppe, with others from Rouen and Lillebonne. It was considerable enough to tax the capacities of Rye to the uttermost, and to necessitate an overflow settlement at Winchelsea. The colony at this latter place had no continued existence; but the renewed immigration from Dieppe to Rye in 1585-6 resulted in its re-establishment at that date."¹

The horror of this situation (the mass murder of Huguenots in 1572) is depicted by Marlowe.² The cruelty of religious persecution, the bigotry and narrowness of powerful French nobles do not make a pretty picture. Marlowe presents the bloody details with gusto: The Catholics are barbarous, inhuman, fanatical murderers; the Protestants are rather docile, helpless--and stupid--individuals. In a Protestant England, any refugees from the wrath of Catholicism found a measure of sympathy, for Catholicism meant "Spain," even indirectly by way of France.

1. Cunningham, W., Alien Immigrants in England, p. 156

2. Creizenach, W., The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare, p. 189. Creizenach comments: "This (play by Marlowe--Massacre at Paris) embraces the whole history of the massacre at St. Bartholomew and the events which followed it, up to the murder of Henri III (1589), which took place only two years before the play was written...In Marlowe's Massacre, allusion was made to the dangers threatening the Protestant world."

It would be difficult to formulate a blanket statement broad enough to include the three principal types of attitudes just discussed in this part of Chapter II. The obvious insult to Joan of Arc, with repeated accusations of cowardice and treachery directed at Frenchmen are at one extreme, while the tolerant acceptance of a French Dr. Caius is at the other. The intense hatred such as that which fear of the Spanish inspired definitely is not present in the attitude toward the French, as these attitudes are reflected in the drama. The Spaniards threatened the English homeland as well as English commerce. The French were hardly ever a serious threat to either. The French aliens in the drama--refugees, artisans, ambassadors, musicians--were not persecuted. It seems as if they were free to become as nearly English as possible. This attitude forms quite a contrast to the type of fear inspired by the infusion of black blood from the next alien group, Elizabethan Black Folks.

4. Black Folk

Historical records reveal that the African black races were familiar to Englishmen, Londoners especially, by the end of the sixteenth century. In 1554, a few Africans from Sierra Leone were brought to London by explorers returning to report their exploits.¹ It was the custom for these explorers to bring back some of the natives from the lands they visited as slaves or as gifts for friends and famous people, or as visitors to learn of English language and life so that they could return to their native lands to serve as promoters of English trade. The search for trading places led to the organization of the English company for African Trade, in 1588, by a group of merchants from Exeter and Barnstable.² These petitioned for exclusive privileges to trade along the West African coast, from the Senegal River, southwards to Gambia. This land, watered by the Senegal River near the southwest end of the Sahara, was known as "Bildad Ghana," of "Land of Wealth." By 1400, "Ghana" had become known to the English as "Guinea," and the Negroes who inhabited it were notably distinguished by the pure, unadulterated blackness of their skin.³ As early as 1400, the Moors of the land northward had sold such blacks as these to the Egyptians and Turks westward for labor purposes and for harems, and to the Spaniards and the Portuguese.

1. Raleigh, Sir Walter, Shakespeare's England, vol. I, p. 195

2. The Cambridge History of the British Empire, vol. I, p. 73

3. The Cambridge Modern History, vol. I, pp. 9-10

There is an account in The Encyclopedia Britannica of an officer in the command of Prince Henry, The Navigator (Portugese) who captured several Moors but returned them to their African homeland in exchange for ten blacks, in 1442.

Before the organization of the Company for African Trade, a great English sea-captain, John Hawkins, started the traffic of the English in African slaves with a cargo of 300 slaves taken from Sierra Leone. These he very cleverly placed in the hands of the Spaniards in the colony of Santo Domingo, in spite of the opposition of the authorities there. This was one of the opening incidents in a trade which became very lucrative. Queen Elizabeth herself invested money in it,¹ and John Hawkins was knighted for his glorious exploits, later in the Queen's reign. It is significant that he took for his coat of arms "a demi-moor, proper, bound with a cord."² The last voyage of Drake and Hawkins was backed by Elizabeth, who encouraged wresting power or wealth from the hands of the Spanish or the Portugese.³ This voyage resulted in the death of both captains in 1596. On the casualty list of one of the ships which escaped from a battle with a fleet of Spanish men-of-war, there appears the following:⁴ "In this

1. Cheney, Edward P., A Short History of England, pp.355-6

2. Green, John R., A Short History of the English People, p.395

Note: E. E. Stoll (Shakespeare Studies, p.267) has this to say:

"...in the day when Sir John Hawkins, who initiated the slave-trade, with the Earls of Pembroke and Leicester and the Queen herself for partners, bore on the arms which were granted him for his exploits a demi-Moor, proper, in chains."

3. Cambridge History of the British Empire, vol.1, p.48

4. Harrison, G. B., Elizabethan Journals, II, p.31

conflict, in the Defiance were slain five men: three Englishmen, a Greek and a negro." The reference to "five men" seems to indicate that the Negro may not have been just a slave but really a regular member of the crew.

Approaching the question of Blacks in England more closely, various accounts are to be found of Negroes, or blackmoors, both male and female, in the city of London. From the church records of St. Botolph, Bishopgate, a Mr. Rogers mentions some interesting accounts:¹

"Amongst the christenings are...Elizabeth, a negro's child, born white, ye mother a negro;...Bennett, reput daughter of John Allen which John went with Sr. Fr. Drake to the Indians, in which tyme this child was got by a stage player."

The other entries which follow are dated from 1591, 1592, and so on. The entries quoted here must have taken place a few years previous to these dates.

There may even be seen a slight indication of a knowledge of or an interest in dark aliens through a glance at the names of streets and places of interest in London. There is actually a "Black Boy Alley," off Blackman Street, Southwark which commemorates the site of Black Boy Tavern.²

From Harrison's Journals comes information which places more than a few Negroes in the city of London during the time of Shakespeare:³

1. Kent, William, An Encyclopedia of London, pp. 146-147

2. Wheatley, Henry V., London Past and Present, vol. I, p. 191

3. Harrison, G. B., Elizabethan Journals, pp. 109; 111

"July 11, 1596: Divers blackamoors have lately been brought into the realm, of which kind of people there are already here too many, considering how God hath blessed this land with as great increase of our own nation as any country in the world; whereof many for want of service and means to set them on to work fall to idleness and great extremity. By order of the Council, the ten blackamoors that were brought in by Sir Thomas Baskerville in his last voyage shall be transported out of the realm."

"July 18, 1596: Mr. Casper van Sanden, a merchant of Lubec that at his own charges brought back eighty-nine of the Queen's subjects that were detained as prisoners in Spain and Portugal, hath desired license to take up so many blackamoors and to transport them into Spain and Portugal; which her Majesty thinketh a very good exchange and that those kind of people may well be spared in the realm. The Lord Mayor of London and other mayors and public officers are required to aid Mr. Sanden to take up the blackamoors with the consent of their masters."

These direct references from the journals of the day mention the slaves as blackamoors; this is partial justification of the use of the term, blackamoor, with reference to the Negroes, who were practically the only creatures subject to the slave traffic at that time.

The year 1586 marks the close of the first period of England's efforts at colonization, a movement which had been featured by Raleigh's unsuccessful attempts at empire-building. In regard to reasons for advocating colonization, there is the argument by Carleill, in Hakluyt's Principal Navigations, wherein he states that such an outlet for the overflow of vagrants was necessary for the welfare of the worthwhile citizens of the Realm.¹

In further support of the idea of the deportation of aliens-- although these references in support of those from Harrison are

1. Hakluyt, Richard, Principal Navigations...vol.III,p.143

by no means concerned entirely with Black folks--is the gist of a statement from The Cambridge History of The British Empire:¹ Hakluyt, Peckham and Carleill urged that "colonies would afford an invaluable outlet for the surplus of unemployed" who made things very inconvenient for the better sort of people. Removal of the undesirable elements would check crime and the spread of disease, thus making conditions better for the native English population, it was pointed out.

In the preface to Ben Jonson's Masque of Blackness there is further evidence of an early English acquaintance with blacks which may be considered historical:²

"The Masque of Blackness, personated at the Court at Whitehall, on the Twelfth-night, 1605."

"The honour and splendour of these Spectacles was such in the performance, as, could those hours have lasted, this of mine, now, had been a most unprofitable work. But when it is the fate even of the greatest, and most absolute births, to need and borrow a life of posterity, little had been done to the study of magnificence in these, if presently with the rage of the people, who, (as part of greatness) are privileged by custom, to deface their carcasses, the spirits had also perished. In duty therefore to that Majesty, who gave them their authority and grace, and, no less than the most royal of predecessors, deserves eminent celebration for these solemnities, I add this later hand to redeem them as well from ignorance as envy, two common evils, the one of censure, the other of oblivion."

"Pliny (Nat. Hist. 1.5.c.8), Solinus (Poly. Hist.c.40, and 43), Ptolemy (Lib.4.c.5.), and of late, Leo the African (Descrip. of Afric.) remember unto us a river in Aethiopia, famous by the name of Niger; of which the people were called Nigritae, now Negroes; and are the blackest nation of the world. This river taketh spring out of a certain lake, eastward; and after a long race falleth into the western ocean.

1. Cambridge History of the British Empire, vol.K, p.69

2. Cornwall, Barry (Proeter, Bryan Waller) The Works of Ben Jonson, Edward Noxon, Dover St., Lon., MDCCCXXXVIII, pp.544-7

Hence (because it was her Majesty's will to have them blackamoors at first) the invention was derived by me and presented thus:"

Further illustration of the preceding type is to be found in the preface to Jonson's The Masque of Beauty:¹

"Two years being now past, that her majesty had intermitted these delights, and the third almost come, it was her highness's pleasure again to glorify the Court, and command that I should think on some fit presentment, which should answer the former, still keeping them the same persons, the daughters of Niger, but their beauties varies according to promise, and their time of absence excused, with four more added to their number"

"To which limits, when I had apted my invention, and being to bring news of them from the sea, I induced Boreas, one of the winds as my fittest messenger..."

This evidence seems to reveal that one of Shakespeare's best-known contemporaries in the drama was not unfamiliar with the black folk of history. In his Masques of Blackness and of Beauty there were actors whose faces were blackened. This undoubtedly was the procedure in Othello and Titus Andronicus, but it was not an innovation of Jonson, for it is known that such was the practice² among those actors from the continent who performed the Morris dances, at a period much earlier. Ben Jonson quotes what he seems to consider reliable sources of information on Negroes, and explains the use of blackamoors in his entertainments or masques. Evidence of the Queen's interest is stated frankly. The term blackamoor, is used in a sense which indicates, more or less, a familiarity with people of that type, in addition to a knowledge of historical sources and information concerning them (with special reference to the "prefaces" just quoted).

1. Ibid., p.547-551

2. Chambers (E. K. Chambers, The Mediaeval Stage, v.I, pp.198-9) writes authoritatively in regard to face-blackening on the stage.

An examination of the works of Shakespeare himself, exclusive of the drama leads, of course to an analysis of his large group of sonnets.¹ The one numbered 130 has been the center of much discussion in regard to its reference to a real black woman, a Negress:

"My Mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun;
Coral is far more red than her lips' red;
If snow be white, why then her breasts are dun;
If hairs be wires, black wires grow on her head,
I have seen roses damasked, red and white,
But no such roses see I in her cheeks;
And in some perfumes is there more delight
Than in the breath that from my mistress reeks.
I love to hear her speak, yet will I know
That music hath a far more pleasing sound;
I grant I never saw a goddess go;
My mistress, when she walks, treads on the ground;
And yet, by heaven, I think my love as rare
As any she belied with false compare."

The actual picture presented by the author is that of a woman whose complexion is neither red nor white; who has dark eyes, ashy-red lips, dark-brown breasts, and hair that is like black wire--probably in short coils. Her breath is not pleasant, an indication that she may have used tobacco, possibly snuff--a not uncommon practice for women of that day--or perhaps the rather imprudent or unsociable use of garlic or food of that type. Her

1. Schlegel has this to say (A. W. von Schlegel, Vorlesungen... dramatische Kunst und Litteratur, 1846, Zweiter Theil, p.174)
"Es verrath einen auszerordentlichen Mangel an kritischem Scharfsinn, dasz unter den Auslegern Shakspeares, die wir kennen, noch keiner darauf gefallen ist, seine Sonnette fur seine Lebensbeschreibung zu benutzen. Sie schildern ganz augenscheinlich wirkliche Lagen und Stimmungen des Dichters, Sie machen uns mit den Leidenschaften des Menschen bekannt, ja sie enthalten auch sehr merkwurdige Gestandnisse uber seine jugendlichen Verirrungen." Mention of the Sonnets as a source of biographical material on Shakespeare is made in The Cambridge History of English Literature, vol.V, Part I, p. 191

voice is harsh, but there is something about it which compels his notice. As no goddess does she walk, but her feet are "on the ground," he says of her, possibly pointing to her flat feet. It is not her appearance, definitely, which sustains his affection. Shakespeare has given a rather complete picture of a Negro woman, and the principal attraction she might have for a man of another race is presented with sufficient emphasis, apparently.

There is other critical comment in support of this theory:

A German, Robert Hessen, in Leben Shakespeare,¹ states:

"In 130 we meet suggestions of a kind of realism that is unique in the whole literature of love; and we are reconciled only by the fact that here, at least, the suspicion of poetic conceits is entirely absent."

In H. E. Rollins's Variorum Shakespeare there are statements containing additional support:

Finch Bernard says (Science and the Soul, 1918, pp.17 f) that he is "certain that the description is that of a Negro woman."²

Jordan,³ a German scholar, points to Othello as another of Shakespeare's references to a miscegenetic affair. From the argument which he advances, he makes it known that he believes she was a married woman from the West Indian colonies, or she was a Creole with an admixture of African blood, "a conjecture supported by her hot-blooded coquetry and her musical talent." This description may have pictured such a woman as was Anne, wife of John Davenant,

1. Hessen, Robert, Leben Shakespeare, 1904, p.200 f

2. Rollins, H. E., A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare, p.270

3. Ibid., p.270

proprietor of the Crown Tavern. Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton wooed her, and evidence points to their overtures having met with more than moderate success.

Then Rollins continues in detail;¹

"Poor Shakespeare, not to mention Southampton, comes off badly at the hands of G. B. Harrison, who in 1933 (Shakespeare, p.64) dogmatically said that the dark woman was a courtesan notorious to the fashionable young gentlemen of the Inns of Court who took their pleasures in Clerkenwell, and for a time Shakespeare became her lover...By ordinary standards the woman was not beautiful, yet irresistably fascinating. The 'lady' he suggests (p.310 f.) mentioned is in the Gesta Grayorum of 1594 (Malone Society reprint, 1914, p.12). Harrison repeated this suggestion (ed. 1938, p.122) five years later, by which time the damage was done...for Fripp, (Shakespeare, 1938, v.I, p.263) asserts, as if the matter were proved, that Lucy Negro, Abbes of Clerkenwell was one of the whores, familiar companions of the poet, on whom Shakespeare modeled the dark woman. Thus seventy years after the German translator, Jordan, had provided a Negro mistress for Shakespeare, two distinguished Englishmen, adopting and expanding his ideas, assigned her a name and an excessively squalid locale."

It is quite probable that the great dramatist spent part of his hours of leisure in any one of the less reputable houses of Londons' worst districts (see the last paragraph of the following quotation from Fripp). In such places, blackamoor women could easily have been used as hostesses. As the entertainers of drunken sailors and profligate actors they could have served such purposes quite well. Slave women captured in Africa could have made such a bawdy-house business very profitable for their masters.

Rollins touches Fripp but lightly. There is much left unsaid which Fripp says for himself rather interestingly:²

1. Ibid., p.271

2. Fripp, Edgar I., Shakespeare Man and Artist, pp.260-263

"37 THE 'BLACK MISTRESS' SONNETS"

"Shakespeare's 'sportive blood' has something to answer for among contemporaries and moderns. He acknowledges the 'errors' of his 'heart' and 'eyes,' and some of his sonnets have more than the appearance of levity. The group connected in one way or another with a 'black mistress' (127-154) are responsible for the legend, in our time, of the 'Dark Lady.' They are early productions, were for private consumption, are not outside the range of the poet's dramatic interest and humour, lack, as the Elizabethan sonnet always must, the credential of sincerity, and without knowledge of their context, we must hesitate to pronounce them discreditable. But they are not pleasant reading..."

"Most of the pieces are uncomplimentary in their compliment, all are dramatic and elusive. Romance is far to seek. The poet's 'mistress,' whatever her professed inconsistencies, proves a Shoreditch quean and a Court coquette. She is a sluttish and odious harlot ('where all men ride,' 'so foul a face,' 'false plague' (cxxxvii), 'I love what others do abhor' (cl);...ungainly, lumpish, ugly (my mistress treads,' 'than her speech music has a far more pleasing sound (cxxx), 'thy face hath not the power to make love groan (cxxxi)."

"We detect, indeed, half a dozen 'ladies'--of the tavern, and the kitchen, and of the drawing-room. All of them, it may be are 'black' (the tender term, 'Dark Lady', does not occur: It is the invention of modern sentimentalists), in feature or in character, but they differ hopelessly in culture, station, disposition, and bearing towards the writer."

"An element in the great dramatist's nature, not always prominent in his critics has been overlooked in connexion with the Sonnets. There is a touch of sardonic humour in them. The description, for example, of his 'mistress' in 130 is a satire not only on sonnet-beauties in general, but, surely, on the poet's own charmer in particular..."

"It amused Shakespeare, under circumstances of which we can conjecture, to weave his strange, sometimes gross fancies, as it has pleased the sentimentalists to manufacture out of them the 'Dark Lady' fable. There is no history in one or the other. All we are justified in believing is, that early in his career,...the poet (note: capitalization inconsistent in Fripp's Poet) was sufficiently observant of the loose-mannered and loose-tongued women among whom his lot was cast to write of them, with the freedom of privacy and dramatic detachment, in that form of verse in which he exercised and perfected himself in the years 1590-2. We know, moreover, that in the spring of 1593 he was finishing his Renaissance picture of voluptuous goddess in Venus and Adonis, wherein may be detected

something of 'Em Ball'¹ 'Doll Tearsheet', 'Jane Nightwork' in the neighbourhood of Clement's Inn (II Henry IV, iii,2,211), and the notorious 'Abbes de Clerkenwell'. The last was a 'dark lady' against whom the students of Gray's Inn were warned in 1594, one Lucy Negro (Fair Black), head of the sisterhood 'Black Nuns', who did night service in cauda (that is, in tail) and were ready 'with burning lamps' (otherwise venereal disease) 'to chant placebo' (of I shall gratify you) to the 'gentlemen' of the Law. More satire and deeper than we have yet realized probably underlies those 'Black Mistress' protestations."

"There was a sordid side to his player's calling as to his habitat. Theatres were associated with the drinking-bar and the brothel. Respectable old interludes were superseded by blood-and-thunder tragedy and impudent burlesque, which, save for their possibilities, had small attraction for Shakespeare."

Fripp, Jordan, Harrison and others take fully into consideration the fact that brunettes were not considered beautiful during the Middle Ages (and Fripp very generously calls the very black Othello "a handsome swarthy Arab in the very prime of life").² The general trend of their opinion is that even a brunette would look better than the woman in Shakespeare's Sonnet 130. Also in the group of writers who have discussed this point of view regarding 130 there are several others,³ in addition to Fripp, who believes that the entire group of sonnets numbered 127 to 154 are associated with the "Dark Lady" in one way or another. Rollins seems to imply this in his statement: "Even those who agree that the dark woman appears in 127 to 154 disagree in their interpretation of her⁴."

This question of "Brunette or Negress" in Shakespeare involves a problem in semantics. In his works, Shakespeare actually uses

1. Fripp, E. I., Shakespeare Man and Artist, refers to (Stow, Survey of London, Morley, p. 394 f.) "...about the year 1100, J. Brisset founded (the Priory of Clerkenwell)..and placed therein Black Nuns..."
2. Ibid., p.624
3. See footnote from Schlegel, page 7.
4. Rollins, M. E., A New Variorum Ed. of Shakespeare, pp.270-1

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the terms, "Moor," "blackamoor," "Negro," "Ethiope" (or "Aethiope," "Aethiop"), and "African." What he actually meant by each usage is a major problem for later solution--if such be possible within this work.

The following definitions from the Oxford Dictionary throw much light on the 16th and 17th century usage of these words:

"Moor": (The Latin Maurus, and Greek...black) "In ancient history, a native of Mauritania, a region of Northern Africa corresponding to parts of Morocco and Algeria. In later times, one belonging to the people of mixed Berber and Arab race, Mohammedan in religion, who constitute the bulk of the population of North-western Africa and who in the 8th century conquered Spain. In the Middle Ages, and as late as the 17th century, the Moors were supposed to be mostly black or very swarthy (though the existence of white Moors was recognized), and hence the word was often used for Negro; cf. Blackamoor."

Attention may be drawn to that part of the definition which states, "...and as late as the 17th century," for the inference is that prior to that time, the terms, "Moor" and "Negro" were used interchangeably, while the clear line of differentiation has been established only since that time. One of the best illustrations of this idea from the Oxford Dictionary may be found in the novel by Mrs. Aphra Behn, Oroonoko, and the date is 1688.¹

"Coramantian, a country of blacks so called, being always in hostility with one neighbouring Prince or another, they had the fortune to take a great many captives; for all they took in battle were sold as slaves..."

"He had scarce arrived at his seventeenth year, when, fighting by his side, the General was killed with an arrow in his eye, which the Prince Oroonoko (for so was this gallant Moore called) very narrowly avoided..."

"The great and just character of Oroonoko gave me an extreme curiosity to see him, especially when I knew he spoke French and English, and that I could talk with him. But though I had heard so much of him, I was as greatly surprised when I saw him as if I had heard nothin of him; so beyond all report I found him. He came into the room and addressed himself to me and some other women with the best grace in the

I. Turner, A. M., (Collection of works of the period)
Malory to Mrs. Behn, pp.322-325

world. He was pretty tall, but of a shape the most exact that can be fancied; the most famous statuary could not form the figure of a man more admirably turned from head to foot. His face was not of that brown rusty black which most of that nation are, but a perfect ebony or polished jet. His eyes were the most awful that could be seen and very piercing, the white of them being like snow, as were his teeth. His nose was rising and Roman, instead of African and flat; his mouth the finest shaped that could be seen, far from those great turned lips which are so natural to the rest of the Negroes. The whole proportion and air of his face was so nobly and exactly formed, that, bating his colour, there could be nothing in nature more beautiful, agreeable and handsome. There was no one grace wanting, that bears the standard of true beauty. His hair came down to his shoulders, by the aids of art, which was by pulling it out with a quill and keeping it combed, of which he took particular care. Nor did the perfections of his mind come short of those of his person; for his discourse was admirable upon almost any subject; and whoever had heard him speak would have been convinced of their errors, that all fine wit is confined to the white men, especially to those of Christendom, and would have confessed that Oroonoko was as capable even of reigning well, and of governing as wisely, had as great a soul..as any Prince civilized in the most refined schools of humanity and learning or the most illustrious courts."

The main interest must be centered on the use of the word "Moor," for Mrs. Behn's conception of the person of this Negro is undoubtedly romantic. Here is a black man referred to as "Negro" and "Moor"; this seems part answer to Coleridge's complaint (discussion to follow later) of the absurdity of a Negro's pleading royal birth at a time "when they were known only as slaves."

Continuing with definitions from the Oxford Dictionary, comes next, appropriately enough, the word "Negro":

"Negro; L. niger--black...

1. An individual, (especially a male) belonging to the African race of mankind, which is distinguished by a black skin, black, wooly hair, flat nose, and thick, protruding lips."

Keeping these negroid characteristics in mind while reading of the black folks (Moors) of Shakespeare, makes a very interesting study.

"Blackamoor: (black Moor, a form actually used down to the middle of the 18th century. Blackamoor is found in 1581; of the connecting "a" no satisfactory explanation is offered.. 1. A black-skinned African, an Ethiopian, a negro; any very dark-skinned person (formerly without depreciatory force, now a nickname)."

Ethiopia, according to Ben Jonson's note in the preface to his Masque of Blackness, is that land south of the Sahara, watered by the Niger River. The blacks of that area have already been mentioned in this work as being the purest-black of all African Negroes.

"Ethiopian: A. Of or belonging to Ethiopia (in the various historical uses of the name) or to the peoples known to the ancients as Aethiopes. Often used (now only humorously) as Negro; Ethiopian serenader; a "nigger" minstrel, a musical performer blackened to imitate a Negro. B. A native of Ethiopia; a negro, blackamoor (obsolete)."

The last of the five terms listed here for interpretation is the word "African," and it applies, in a general sense to any of the four others.

Definitions from other dictionaries (including Webster's Unabridged) vary but slightly from those found in the Oxford. However, the definitions in Stokes' Dictionary¹ of Shakespearean terms are worthy of separate analysis. He defines the words, "African," "Ethiopian," but does not list the word "Negro" in his general vocabulary treatment at all. He is justified, perhaps, since it occurs only once in all the plays (Merchant of Venice iii.5)

1. Stokes, F. G., Shakespearean Dictionary

and there in the same sentence with the word, "Moor,"-- and Stokes is quite dogmatic in his assertion that a Moor, with special reference to Othello, is not a Negro. Though there are many who share his opinion, there are still at least two sides to the question. The term, "blackamoor," also was not listed among words to be defined, although Stokes alludes to this word on several occasions. Here, too, perhaps he is justified because of the infrequency of occurrence. It would have been quite simple for him to explain briefly that the child of Aaron, the Moor¹ and Tamora, the Gothic queen, is made to appear intolerably black--in spite of its white mother--and is listed as a blackamoor; that "blackamoor" was used for "Negro," "Ethiopian," and "slave."

Much discussion has been centered about the racial characteristics of Othello. If, however, a major premise of the argument be stated definitely, a slightly different point of view might prevail; for, there are at least two ways of examining this question of, "Othello, Moor or Negro?" First, which did Shakespeare intend for him to be; second, what did he actually make of him? On this matter, Tolstoy expresses his opinion quite cold-bloodedly and at length:

"Thus in Othello, of all the plays of Shakespeare the least bad and least encumbered by pompous volubility, the characters of Othello, Iago, Cassio, Emilia, are much less natural and life-like than in the Italian romance. Othello according to Shakespeare, is a negro and not a Moor...All this is erratic, inflated, unnatural, and violates the unity of character (Othello's monolog over the sleeping Desdemona,

1. Shakespeare, Titus Andronicus

2. Tolstoy, Lyoff, N., Tolstoy on Shakespeare, ed. by E. Crosby, p.68

about his desiring her when killed to look as she is alive, and wishing to smell her 'balmy breath,'...'is utterly impossible'). A man who is preparing for the murder of a beloved being, does not utter such phrases, still less after committing the murder would he speak about the necessity of an eclipse of sun and moon, and of the globe yawning; nor can he, negro though he may be, address devils, inviting them to burn him in hot sulphur and so forth...This character still remains a character, but all the other personages are completely spoiled by Shakespeare." ('Spoiled' here is used in comparing Shakespeare's version with the story of Cinthio.)

There seems to be no doubt in the mind of one critic, at least, that Othello is a Negro, in the modern sense of the term.

It seems almost necessary at this time to present the case of Othello here as fully as circumstances may allow. Such a presentation should prove a contribution to the interpretation of Elizabethan attitudes toward these black folk and a worthwhile supplement to the catalog of general allusions which should be offered at this point.

H. H. Furness presents the various points of view A New Variorum Edition¹ of Shakespeare. One line (Othello, i.1,L.72) especially, has been the subject for much comment;

"What a full fortune does the thick-lips owe....," says Roderigo.

John Galt comments (Lives of the Players, London, 1831):

"Coleridge has the following: Roderigo turns off to Othello; and here comes one, of not the only seeming justification of our blackamoor or negro Othello...Can we imagine him so utterly ignorant as to make a barbarous negro plead royal birth,--at a time, too, when negroes were not known

1. Furness, H. H., A New Variorum Ed. of Shakespeare, pp. 389-393

except as slaves? As for Iago's language to Brabantio ('an old black ram is tupping your white ewe! i.1, L.96-97) it implies merely that Othello was a Moor, that is, black. Though I think the rivalry of Roderigo sufficient to account for his wilful confusion of Moor and Negro, yet, even if compelled to give this up, I should think it only adopted for a single day, and should complain of an enormity built on a single word, in direct contradiction to Iago's 'Barbary horse.'" (i.1, L. 124. "You'll have your daughter covered with a Barbary horse.")...

"No doubt Desdemona saw Othello's visage in his mind; yet, as we are constituted, and most surely as an English audience was disposed in the beginning of the seventeenth century, it would be something monstrous to conceive this beautiful Venetian girl falling in love with a veritable Negro."

The comment of Knight is included by Furness:¹

"It is very probable that the popular notion of a Moor was somewhat confused in Shakespeare's time. We do not think, however, that Shakespeare had any other intention than to paint Othello as one of the most noble of the proud children of Onniades and Abbasides. The expression, 'thick-lips,' can only be received dramatically, as a nickname given to Othello by the ill nature of this coxcomb."

But there seems to be a change of sides in the same paragraph by Knight:

"Whatever may have been the practice in Shakespeare's time,--and it is by no means improbable that Othello was represented as a Negro,--the whole context of the play is against the notion."

Grant White (Shakespeare's Scholar, 1854)²

"Shakespeare nowhere calls Othello an Ethiopian, and also does not apply the term to Aaron in the horrible Titus Andronicus; but continually speaks of both as Moors..Roderigo's calling Othello..."Thick-lips"; but this is the result of Shakespeare's want of exact information. He had, doubtless never seen either a Moor or a negro;"

1. Ibid., p.390

2. Ibid., p.393

Then White continues in the same paragraph:

"...but a man of his knowledge and penetration could not fail to know...of the nation which built the Alhambra and furnished...to the Englishmen who, when he wrote Othello, were supplying the plantations in the West Indies with slaves."¹

Hunter (New Illustrations, ii.280)²

"Shakespeare seems to point to Mauritania as the native country of Othello, who is hence regarded as a Moor in the proper sense of the word. The expression, "black," is to be interpreted as meaning no more than very dark. "Moor," however, was used by English writers extensively, and all the dark races seem by some writers to be regarded as comprehended under it. Sir Thomas Elyot calls Ethiopians "Moors."

"In Hackett's³ Notes and Comments on Shakespeare, pp. 217-249, are certain observations and opinions by John Quincy Adams, which cannot but make the judicious grieve. The ex-President out-Herauds Heraud in his denunciation of Desdemona;... on the score of her wantonness as shown by her marriage with a 'rude, unbleached African.' I cannot but think, that by way of palliation, we may read between the lines the public answer, wrung from the depths of vexation, to that inconsistent question with which the Abolitionists of old were wont constantly to be assailed, and which the 'old man eloquent' must have had thrust at him a thousand times: 'How would you like your daughter to marry a nigger?'--The Editor."

Wilson comments by means of "dialogue" in "Blackwood's Magazine" (April, 1850, p.484)

"I say again, I cannot imagine the contemporary audience of Shakespeare deciding colour between a Moor and a Negro. The tradition of the stage, too, seems to have made Othello Jet black."

1. Note: It seems quite possible that at least an occasional cargo, or a portion of a cargo, of slaves might have been dumped into England, either through accident or by design, since the traffic was so enormous (hundreds of thousands by 1600). Yet, there are those persons who express doubt that Shakespeare ever saw a Negro.

2. Ibid., p.390

3. Ibid., p.391

"Coleridge almost always thought, felt, wrote, and spoke finely, as a critic,--but may I venture, in all love and admiration for that name, to suggest that the removal which the stage makes of a subject from reality must never be forgotten? In life you cannot bear that the White Woman shall marry the Black Man...on the stage some consciousness that everything is not as literally meant as it seems,--that symbols of humanity, and not actual men and women, are before you,---saves the Play.

"Shakespeare shows up in Othello foul passions,--that you see in two natures conjoined,--the moral Caucasian White and the animal tropical Black."

"I swear Othello was a Blackamoor,--and Desdemona the Whitest lady in Europe."¹

Leaving the Variorum opinions momentarily, there is a statement by Dubois of Harvard which attempts to answer some of the questions raised by Coleridge:²

"Black faces are repeatedly represented in medieval art; among the three kings at the birth of Christ; by the black Virgin Mary and by travelers' stories; by the multitude of brown and black saints pictured in cathedrals like Chartres; especially is Shakespeare's Othello a peculiar case in point. Coleridge says that Shakespeare could not have been so utterly ignorant as to make a barbarian Negro plead royal birth; and Brandes regards it quite unreasonable to suppose that Shakespeare thought of Othello as a Negro. But Alice Werner, the great English student of Africa,³ says, 'There are sufficient indications in the play that Shakespeare had the Negro and not the Arab type in mind; the thick-lips, and the repeated references to blackness, which cannot be understood of anything but

1. Note: With this statement the writer caps an argument in which he contends that Shakespeare purposely used the extreme unnaturalness of this situation for dramatic contrast. The writer goes further to say that any but a black Othello would be not at all effective, and he invites the reader to imagine the play with a brown or tan or almost handsome Othello--the result literally changes the complexion of the play, and spoils the desired effect.

2. Dubois, W. E. B., Black Folk, Then and Now, pp. 124-125

3. Werner, Alice, The Language Families of Africa, London, 1925

the real African tint. Still more conclusive is Shakespeare's conception of Othello's character: There is a great-hearted simplicity, a boundless capacity for, affection and reverence, in the African character, of which Coleridge would not seem to have had the faintest suspicion.' Miss Werner reminds us that, 'in 1486, the King of Benin sent an Embassy to the king of Portugal, requesting the latter to send Christian priests to instruct his people. The kings of Congo were potentates recognized and treated with by Portugal in Shakespeare's day.' Certainly Othello on the stage should be black, or rather--for absolutely black people are in a minority, even in Africa--some shade of dark brown, like Khama, or Dinuzulu, or Lewanika, or Daudi Chwa of Uganda."

Most of the preceding statements have been concerned mainly with the "thick-lips" of the Moor. Other characteristics have proved controversial also.

i.1.L. 139. "Roderigo:...the gross clasps of a lascivious Moor."

The implication here again is that tropical-born persons are inclined to sensuality.

i.2.L. 24-25. Othello to Iago: "I fetch my life and being
From men of royal siege."

With this line he declares his noble birth. For these words, too, Coleridge brings Shakespeare to task.

i.1.L. 86-87. Brabantio to Othello:
"Run from her guardage to the sooty bosom
Of such a thing as thou, to fear, not to delight."

Brabantio is placing a great deal of emphasis on the unprepossessing exterior of his new and unwanted son-in-law. He believes it impossible for his daughter to love a thing so horrible in appearance.

Brabantio speaks to the officers of the Senate (i.2, L.120-121):

"For if such actions may have passage free
Bond-slaves and Pagans shall our statesmen be."

Stevens comments in Furness's Variorum:¹

"He (Brabantio) alludes to the common condition of all blacks; and uses the word (pagan) in contempt of Othello and his complexion. If this Moor is to escape with impunity, it will be such an encouragement to his black countrymen, that we may expect to see all the first offices of our state filled up by the pagans and bondslaves of Africa. 'It is certain from this very play that the Moor had been a bondslave and a pagan.'"

This latter idea is substantiated by Othello himself in Act One (i.3, L. 161):

i.3, L. 49. First Senator speaks: "Here comes Brabantio and the valiant Moor."

The country needs the services of the great black warrior at this time; but contrast this attitude with that expressed in the speech of Lodovico when all danger is past:

v.2, L. 346-7. "Where is this rash and unfortunate man?"
"Where is the viper? bring the villain forth."

i.3, L. 376. Iago speaks to Roderigo. "These Moors are changeable in their wills..."

With these words the master villain suggests that the black man may soon tire of Desdemona. It may be noted here that when Iago speaks to anyone else in the play, his word may not be taken too literally, as expressing any veracity or sincerity. He is an accomplished liar. We may, however, place more faith in the truth of what he says in soliloquy.²

i.3, L. 384. Iago continues. "If sanctimony, and a frail vow betwixt an erring barbarian and a super subtle Venetian be not too hard for my wits and all the tribe of Hell, thou shalt enjoy her."

1. Furness, H. H., A New Variorum Ed. of Shakespeare, "Othello," p.42

2. Arnold, Morris Leroy, The Soliloquies of Shakespeare, Columbus U. Press, 1911, p.8 "Nearly all of the monologs in the morality plays are virtually little sermons, and that their didacticism

Here he seems to be saying that Othello is a traitor to his own barbaric creed, and that Desdemona is a sly wench.

i.3. 1.411-12 Iago (solus) "And it is thought abroad, that
twixt my sheets
He has done my office: I know not if it be
true,
But I, for mere suspicion in that kind,..."

Heraud in Furness then has this to say about Iago's accusation:¹

"The true motive for Iago's hate is given here and in succeeding soliloquies, since he would not be likely to announce his own shame or herald his self-degrading suspicions. He considers that Othello has destroyed the chastity of his wife... It is often taken for granted that his suspicions are wholly groundless,--(Editor's note: 'In the Appendix will be found Snider's theory that Othello's guilt in this regard is one of the hinges of the tragedy.)--But that Iago is sincere in his belief cannot be consistently questioned."²

is not without effect is evidenced by the vast amount of moralizing in subsequent soliloquies. In this respect also the Shakespearean soliloquizer gives the definite artistic expression to the type. p. 58 Characterization "The self-characterizing soliloquies on occasion, give a frank and impersonal account of his character... p.59 "To be sure characterization of people other than the speaker has often been accomplished in soliloquy. There are some notable examples in Shakespeare." ..."Shakespeare does not hesitate to show a soliloquizer duped in his estimate of character however, Both Cassio and Othello commend Iago's honesty (iii.1, 43; iii,3,258), but the dramatist is careful to precede their observations with Iago's own assertions of villainy."

Note: Exposition one is chief aim of soliloquy.

1. Ibid., p.43

2. Note: Iago admits the doubt but also recognizes the possibility of truth in his belief. Being much nearer to Othello than any reader of the 20th century, Iago is well qualified to find a fault which, if true, dims the lustre of nobility with which the Moor is so often surrounded. D. J. Snyder (Ibid., p. 426) offers this interpretation, definitely believing the evidence of Othello's guilt.

In the same soliloquy Iago offers also a compliment:

i.3. L. 423 "The Moor is of a free, and open nature
That thinks men honest that but seem to be so."

"Free and easy nature" is a trait not generally applied to the Moorish character, in history, at least.

ii. 1. L. 155-160 Desdemona to Iago (facetiously)

"How if she be black and witty?"

Iago: "If she be black, and thereto have a wit,
She'll find a white that shall her blackness fit."

Elilia: "How if fair and foolish?"

Iago: "She never yet was foolish that was fair."

This friendly banter (on the part of Desdemona, at least) is concerned with the comparison of blondes and the lowly brunette "that never was beauty yet" in 16th century estimation.

The "noble" Moor reveals a knowledge of bawdy-house routine that detracts nothing of the possibility of truth in Iago's accusations of his being lascivious and cuckolding. It is also noteworthy that he gives the following directions to Emilia, Iago's wife: (He is now firmly convinced that Desedmona has been unfaithful)

iv. 2. L. 34-36 Othello: "Some of your function, mistress;
leave procreants alone and shut the door;
Cough, or cry 'hem' if anybody come;
L.108: "We have done our course; there's money for
your pains."

Although Shakespeare has no reputation for any false modesty in his expression, Furness offers the following comment from Hudson:¹

"Othello, who in his relations towards women is one of the most delicate and sensitive of men, in the bitterness of his soul pays his wife's own maid as he leaves the former's bed-chamber; not either to reward or to offend Emilia, but that he may torment his own soul by carrying out his supposition to its most revolting consequences."²

1. Ibid., p. 264

2. Note: Now, one is led to wonder what Shakespeare would have

Emilia, on her part admits that she is not above cuckolding her husband, and she justifies her attitude, in her own way of thinking, as she comforts Desdemona:

iv. 3. L. "But I do think it is their husband's fault
If wives do fall: (say, that they slack their duties,
And pour our treasures into foreign laps...
Yet have we some revenge. Let husbands know,
their wives have sense like them..."

Again it is Emilia who states briefly her opinion of Othello, who has been so thoroughly duped by Iago.

He has just sacrificed Desdemona on the altar of his primitive jealousy:

(v. 2. L. 196) "She was too fond of her filthy bargain."

"Filthy" implies scorn and deepest contempt arising from something more than meets the eye at the moment she makes that speech. It seems that she is quite certain whereof she speaks.

She continues; v.2.L.203-205: "Oh gull! O dolt! As ignorant as dirt!"

thought about this beautiful interpretation of his black men's motives; or, how much of this point of view was shared by the tough and rough apprentices or the rest of the audience in Shakespeare's day, for it must be kept before the moderns of more recent date, that the Elizabethan drama was not written to please posterity, but for that immediate present. For years, plays were not even considered literature, and it is said that Shakespeare's first claim to prominence was made through his poems--not his plays.

Rymer states (Furness's Variorum, p.257) "Some Drayman or drunken Tinker might possibly treat his drab at this sort of note." Others whom Furness lists in opposition to Hudson are; Malone (p.408) D. J. Snyder (426) and Guizot (451)

Even Othello realizes what a simple fool he has been (in spite of many modern romanticists) and echoes the words of Emilia, later on, when the completeness of Iago's villainy is discovered:

v.2. L. 396. Oth: "O fool! fool! fool!"

v.2. Othello is frequently referred to as "slave," or damned slave in this scene. Iago is present; he too is called vile names, and he too is referred to as "slave." This same circumstance is true in Titus Andronicus where Aaron last appears in v. Thus it seems that the word "slave" was widely used as a term of contempt; it is worth notice in passing that it is used so repeatedly by characters addressing themselves to Othello and Aaron in each act v:

v.2. Montano: (chasing Iago) "I'll after that same villain
For 'tis a damned slave." L.303

Othello (to himself) "O cursed, cursed slave!" L. 339

Lodovico: "O thou Othello, that wert once so good,
Fall'n in the practice of a damned slave,"
L. 358 (to Iago) "For this slave,
If there be any cunning and cruelty
That can torment him much.." L. 405

There are a number of speeches which tend to make Othello appear a very noble character, but one must remember that the language and the poetry of Shakespeare deserve a bit of the credit which has been attributed to his character, Othello.

1.2.L.101: Othello to Brabantio: "Hold your hands...
Were it my cue to fight, I should have known it
Without a prompter."

He is obeyed. A natural leader of men is he, and his ability to express himself simply and well is quite evident as he addresses the members of the Senate in his own behalf:

i.3.L. 98 "Rude am I of speech,
 And little blessed with the soft phrase of peace;
 Yet (by your gracious patience)
 I will a round unvarnished tale deliver."

One does not wonder that he wins the Senate to his views--especially since they possess the information which makes his valuable military services so essential to the welfare of the nation at that moment. His love for Desdemona, too, is a pure and noble emotion, for a time, even if he was forced to steal her away from her father.

His long suffering and torture at the hands of Iago are considered by many as enhancing the great nobility of his character; but, there may creep into the emotions of the observer a tinge of the ludicrous when this great black man grovels insane on the ground and foams at the mouth, a gullible, jealous fool--if one may take Othello's own word for it.

Shakespeare has called him "Moor," "Barbary horse" from Jauritania, and even in the last act he speaks of the "Arabian trees"; v.2.L 350. However, it must be remembered that the bare--or practically bare, at any rate--Elizabethan stage was often changed to "Venice" or "Rome" in a word. To the audience of that day, characters were presented as personages dressed in a contemporary fashion, representing on the stage really the people of London at that time. There arises the question, Were there any Moors or Negroes ever there? The answer to that question might influence a belief in either direction, "Moor" or "Negro"?

If the skeptic feels not inclined to alter his view point a trifle, at least, over the Othello material as presented here, perhaps a clearer illustration is necessary. An analysis of The White Devil (1612), by John Webster, may lessen somewhat his skepticism:

In the dramatis personae there are listed, Jacques, a Moorish boy, servant to Giovanni; Zanche, A Moor, servant to Vittoria; and Francisco de Medicis, Duke of Florence, who disguises himself as a Moor in Act Five.

The courtier, Flamineo, speaks (i.2):

"Shall a gentleman so well descended as Camillo (aside) a lousy slave, that within this twenty years rode with the black guard (lowest menials) 'mongst spits and dripping pans?"

He continues, speaking to Brachiano of Vittoria and her chambermaid:

"I have dealt already with her chambermaid, Zanche, the Moor; and she is wondrous proud to be the agent for so high a spirit."

Zanche, the Moorish chambermaid, and a member of the "black guard," lowest of menials, according to the editor's note,¹ "mongst spits and dripping pans," would undoubtedly be considered a Negro today.

In the fifth act, Hortensio and Flamineo speak of the handsome, disguised Duke:

Hor. Saw you not yet the Moor that's come to court?

Flam. Yes, and conferr'd with him in the Duke's closet;
I have not seen a goodlier personage
Nor ever talk'd with man better experienced

1. Spencer, Hazelton, Elizabethan Plays, "The White Devil"

In state affairs or rudiments of war.
 He hath, by report serv'd the Venetian.
 In Candy these twice seven years, and been chief
 in many a bold design.

Echoes of Othello, and a noble Moor, indeed! But in appearance he remains the well-featured Duke, even in disguise.

At this point, Flamineo reveals himself to be the paramour of the black chambermaid, Zanche. The creature has gained more than a small degree of his affection, too, it is revealed, for he resents any ill treatment of her: (v.1)

Flam. ...Now my precious gypsy!
 Zanche. Ay, your love to me rather cools than heats...
 Marcello. (Kicking Zanche) You're a strumpet
 An impudent one.
 Flam. Why do you kick her? say,
 Do you think she's like a walnut tree?
 Marcello. She brags that you shall marry her.
 Flam. What then?
 Marcello. I had rather she were pitch'd upon a stake
 In some new-seeded garden to affright
 Her fellow crows hence...

She is a "strumpet," and she "brags." Marcello wishes her among her "fellow crows." A loathsome creature is she; yet, Flamineo cares for her more or less sincerely, as later events prove.

Zanche thrills at the sight of handsome Francisco, in Act Five. Her greatest wonder is that anyone could be so black and still be beautiful, thus emphasizing a color-consciousness long associated with "Negro"--a consciousness forced continuously on this transplanted creature in a white world;

Zanche. He comes. Hence, petty thought of my disgrace!--
 I ne'er loved my complexion till now
 'Cause I may boldly say, without a blush,
 I love you.

With these words, she proceeds to court him vigorously, and promises to tell him all the secrets she knows. In forgetting Flamineo so easily, she proves herself a strumpet. Francisco plays the game of intrigue with her, making an absolutely ridiculous fool of her because it serves his purpose to do so. While he converses with the noble Lodovica Zanche smirks and flirts, showing herself off before the two men. Lodovica remarks: (aside, v.3)

Lod. Mark her, I prithee; she simpers like the suds
 A collier hath been washed in.

In the same scene there appears an Elizabethan catchphrase previously and frequently noted in this chapter. (At this point Zanche has promised to aid Francisco in his schemes, even to the extent of committing larceny on a grand scale):

Zanche. To further our escape, ...
 I shall at least make good unto your use
 An hundred thousand crowns ...
 ...It is a dowry
 Methinks, should make that sunburnt proverb false,
 'And wash the Ethiop White.'
 Francisco. It shall. Away!

Like Aaron in Titus Andronicus, Zanche meets with no success in her endeavors, finally. Only death compensates her evil efforts, but she dies rather fearlessly with her last breath spent in--
 of all things--defending her blackness!! (v.6)

Flam. (who has been betrayed to his death by Zanche)
 Oh my most loved Moor...
 (Gasparo and Lodovico kill Zanche in the presence of
 unfortunate Vittoria)
 Thou art my task, black Fury.
 Zanche. I have blood
 As rich as either of theirs; Wilt drink some?
 'Tis good for the falling sickness. I am proud
 Death cannot alter my complexion, for I shall ne'er
 look pale. (She dies.)

Webster's play is significant, in regard to the present purpose, for several reasons. First, the relations of the white and black characters are clearly demonstrated. The whites see the blacks as creatures to be used when necessary or convenient, as servants or otherwise. These creatures are represented (particularly in Zanche) as being boastful, sensual, unfaithful, untrustworthy, sordid, and slavish. They are black, extremely, and extremely conscious of it. Fear of miscegenation may be seen in the fact Marcello abhors the idea of Flammineo's discussed union with Zanche. Both Zanche and Flammineo are killed at the conclusion of the play. It will be difficult to find a single instance (Aaron merely mentions one) where black and white characters are allowed to conduct a successful love affair to a happy consummation upon the Elizabethan stage. The picture of the Moor--which to all appearances is the Negro as he is so often represented today, and not the noble Moor of history who conquered Spain--is not at all pleasant, but there it is.

Further interest may be found in the observation that Webster, who "killed" several women rather horribly on the stage, made one

of them black and modeled her after Shakespeare's Aaron. Zanche becomes, too, a kind of Lady Macbeth--in miniature, of course, for she never attains really the stature of either Aaron or the evil Lady of Inverness.

*** *** ***

Before attempting further to determine just what Shakespeare or his fellow dramatists intended each reference to mean when speaking of a dark, or black person, a cataloguing of characters--and allusions to them--of this type should lend to clarity and simplification. The attitude of the English toward each type of "black" should be revealed in what these dramatists thought of them. It should appear, from what has already been said, that Shakespeare's opinion alone, though unquestionably the most important, is not sufficient; for, in a slight measure, at least, Byrne's point of view of Shakespearean topicality is justified by appearances:¹

"...For the purposes of illustrative quotations, Shakespeare figures hardly at all, in comparison to the minor writer. Where the ordinary Elizabethan writer is topical in the situation, characterization and dialogue of an entire scene, Shakespeare is topical only out of his superfluity--in an aside, and style."

African

Shakespeare: Cymbeline 1.1. "I would they were in Afric..."
The Tempest 11.1. "We put them off first in Afric..."
Coriolanus 1.8. "Not Afric owns a serpent..."
Troilus and Cressida 1.3. "Parch in African sun..."

1. Byrne, M. St. Clare, A Companion to Shakespeare Studies, p.87

These first three uses of the term, "Afric" or "African" reveal nothing of any attitudes toward the inhabitants of that continent.

Tempest ii.1. Sebastian to Alonso.
 "Sir, you may thank yourself for this great loss,
 That would not bless our Europe with your daughter
 But rather lose her to an African;"

The African in this play was not necessarily a black man. He certainly was a person whom the King esteemed. No evidence of real contempt appears in the context.

Blackamoor

- Shakespeare: Titus Andronicus, Dramatis Personae, Blackmoor
 Child iv.2. stage directions: Enter nurse with a
 blackamoor child. (Horror of miscegenation revealed.)
- Dekker, T.: Honest Whore ii. 98. "This is the blackamoore that
 by washing was turned white. Catch-phrase, common
 contempt, as in modern, "work like a nigger."
- Shakespeare: Troilus and Cressida i.1. "I care not and she
 were a Blackamoore"--"No matter how horrible she
 may be," is the inference.
- Boorde(1547): Introduction to Knowledge (not drama) p. 212
 "I am a blake Moor borne in Barbary" appears
 explanatory and apologetic for the fact of his
 being black.
- Raleigh, W.: History of the World (not drama) p. 95
 "Negro's which we call blacke-Mores" is a reference
 to lowly slaves.

Ethiope

- Shakespeare: Two Gentlemen from Verona ii.6. "Sylvia shows Julis
 but a swarthy Ethiope," disparages the brunette.
Love's Labor's Lost iv.3. "King. And Ethiopes of
 their sweet complexion crack.
 Biron. Your mistresses dare never come in rain
 For fear their colours should be wash'd away."
 Catch-phrase; defense of blackness (brunette)
Much Ado about Nothing iv.4. "I'll hold my mind,
 were she an Ethiope," implies the ultimate of un-
 desirability.

Midsummer Night's Dream iii.2. Lysander to Hermia
 "Away, you Ethiopie." playful use of contempt-term
 often in this vein referring to a brunette.
Pericles ii.2. credit for barbarian bravery
 "Upon his shield is a black Ethiop"
Romeo and Juliet i.5. contrast bright value against
 a black, worthless hide as a background
 "Rich jewel in an Ethiopie's ear"
As you Like It iv.3. black the badge of unpleasant-
 ness "Ethiopian words, blacker in their effect than..
 countenance."
Winter's Tale iv.4. Whiteness accentuated
 "White as the Ethiopie's tooth or the fann'd snow"
The Merry Wives of Windsor ii.3. (host to Caius, used
 at random to indicate a foreigner, any foreigner)
 "Is he dead, my Ethiopie?"

Jonson, Ben: Masque of Blackness repetition of "wash-a-negro-white"
 "To blanch an Aethiop, and revive a corse."
Masque of Beauty, pageantry: black women go in
 search of the real beauty. Used to accentuate the
 "white" standard of beauty
 "Aethiop dames," "Bright Aethiopia"

Moor

Shakespeare: Merchant of Venice iii.5. Laughing at a "lowly crea-
 ture", Lorenzo to Launcelot:
 "The getting up of the negro's belly: the Moor is
 with child by you.."
Titus Andronicus, Dramatis Personae, Aaron
 Horror and fear of miscegenation because of racial
 differences; (throughout)
 "Marcus iii.2. Pardon me, sir; it was a black ill-
 favour'd fly,
 Like to the empres' Moor; therefore I kill'd him"
 .."Titus: But that between us we can kill a fly
 That comes in likeness of a coal-black Moor."
Othello, throughout referred to as a Moor.
 "Roderigo; (contemptuously, and with horror of mis-
 cegenation)
 To the gross clasps of a lascivious Moor"
Merchant of Venice i.2. horror of miscegenation
 "...the Prince of Morocco..will be here tonight.
 Portia: If he have the condition of a saint and the
 complexion of a devil, I had rather he should shive
 me than wive me."

Cowley: (1647) Mistress, Not Fair (not drama) derogatory contrast
 "A very Moor (methinks) plac'd near to thee,
 White as his teeth, would seem to be."

Negro

- Shakespeare: Merchant of Venice iii.5. (see Moor)
 "The getting up of the negro's belly:"
- Dekker: Old Fortunatus i.1. "And three times frantic
 Cynthia naked rides
 About the rusty highways of the skies
 Stuck full of burning stars, which lent her light
 To court her negro paramour grim light."
 Miscegenation idea appears again
- Middleton
 and Dekker: The Roaring Girl i.1.vol.III, Dekker's Works
 1873 p.147
 "I wash a Negro losing both paines and cost"
 --Again the "wash-a-negro" catch-phrase
- Jonson: Masque of Blackness (previously commented upon)
 "...negroes, and daughters of Niger.."

There seems to be no question about the variety in 16th century usage of the different appellations concerned with the color of races. Quite often a brunette in Shakespeare's day was playfully called "Ethiope" or "African," for at that time, such darkness was considered no beauty. In Love's Labor Lost, iv.3., Biron's speech to the king apparently is in defense of a brunette. The verbal attacks reach their climax in the king's speech:

"Black is the badge of hell,
 The hue of dungeons and the suit of night."

Two Gentlemen from Verona, ii.6., offers another such example:

"And Silvia...shows Julia but a swarthy Ethiope," says Proteus, declaring the brunette cannot compare with fair Silvia.

"Ethiope" could be used playfully to mean any foreigner, as in The Merry Wives of Windsor, ii.3., the host says to Dr.

"Is he dead, my Ethiopie?"

Another instance may be taken in connection with the Black Prince, Edward. The term, "Black," here signifies a somber deadliness. In Henry V, ii.4., line 56:

"That black name, Edward, Black Prince of Wales.."

In Izaak Walton's Lives¹ (not drama) there is a statement concerning the Queen's attitude toward Mr. Hooker. "She called him her little black husband," says Walton, with reference to the clergyman's appearance and demeanor.

In all such instances the implications are rather obvious. This may account for the fact that there is very little conflict of opinions in this respect.

In a further attempt to aid in the settling of some of these differences of opinions concerning the Moors of Shakespeare, place them all together; compare their principal characteristics as Shakespeare paints their portraits--without seeking too far beyond the drama for sources, opinions, dogma, or symbolic and romantic notions--then examine carefully the result of this analysis:

1. Othello, the Moor of Venice, in Othello
2. The Prince of Morocco, in The Merchant of Venice
3. The Moorish woman, in The Merchant of Venice
4. Aaron, the Moor of Gothic Queen Tamora, in Titus Andronicus
5. Muli, Aaron's countryman who is married to a white woman; their offspring takes the complexion of the mother, complains Aaron (Titus Andronicus, iv.2)
6. A blackamoor child of Aaron and Tamora, Titus Andronicus.

1. Walton, Izaak, "Life of Mr. Richard Hooker," Lives, p.190

Shakespeare calls these black men, "Moors," the child, "a blackamoor," and the woman whom Launcelot gets pregnant, "Negro." In his use of the word, "Moor," he differs somewhat from several of his fellow dramatists: Ben Jonson, in his Masque of Blackness, calls his blacks, "Ethiopians," "Negroes," and "blackamoors." Dekker employs what evidently was a common statement of the day, for anyone to use who mentioned attempting the impossible:

"I wash a negro, losing both paines and cost."¹

Returning to Shakespeare, whose Othello has been called "Moor" and "Negro" with no proof conclusive enough as yet to settle the issue, let it be stated here that all the "Moors" of Shakespeare are Negroes. He called them "Moors," it is true, but his Juliet makes his stand quite clear (Romeo and Juliet, ii.2) when he says, "What's in a name?" A Negro by any other name would still be just as black.

The term, "Moor," should be of the very first consideration, for there are those who say quite smugly and dogmatically that Othello was a Moor; that Shakespeare says so himself, repeatedly; that not once does he mention the name, "Negro" or "Ethiopian" in speaking of his "barbary horse" from Mauritania. But a glance at the Oxford Dictionary makes such a statement border on the ridiculous:

"In the Middle ages, and as late as the 17th century, the Moors were supposed to be mostly black and very swarthy, and hence the word was often used for Negro."

1. Middleton and Dekker, "Roaring Girl," Dekker's Works, III., p.147

Taking the group as a whole, there are several things which they have in common:

1. A desire for miscegenetic affairs
2. Very black complexion (at least an occasional Moor would have been blonde, or at least slightly fair)
3. Inferiority complex; color-consciousness; apparently they were ashamed of being black, ashamed of racial characteristics which were their own. Was there no suitable match possible within their own race? If the Prince and Othello were of royal blood, why marry a commoner because of her color? Was a white commoner the equal of a royal Black? Evidently Othello and the Prince thought so. Witness the mighty Prince who pleads with Portia in The Merchant of Venice, ii.1. "Mislike me not for my complexion."
4. Each black Moor is presented in a white environment; never does he move about in his native haunts.
5. Othello, Aaron, the Prince, and Zanche meet with disaster. If the race of blacks had appeared more noble in the eyes of Elizabethans, it seems as if they would have been allowed at least an occasional triumph in the drama of the period.

Other characteristics also appear to be shared, more or less, by the group:

Othello is evidently a large, black man. To lead an army for a foreign nation, great strength and stature must have been among those qualifications which helped him to fame as a warrior, for he definitely was not a mastermind.¹ Aaron likewise was able to intimidate both the grown sons of Tamora when they threatened to harm his child. A runt could hardly have done this. The Saracens, or Mauritians of that race, are not noted for any giants

1. Fripp, Edgar I., Shakespeare Man and Artist, p. 624. The critic comments: "And of Othello, what can we say but with Emilia, noble as he is, 'O gull, O dolt, ignorant as dirt!'"

among them.

Othello is called "thick-lips" by Roderigo, and many critics quite airily dismiss the statement, saying it is merely the exaggeration of a jealous lover. However, the term is repeated in Titus Andronicus, iv.3. Aaron, the Moor, holds his blackamoor child (by the white Tamora) in his arms:

"Come on, you thick-lipp'd slave...I'll bear you hence...
and bring you up to be a warrior, and command a camp."

Here indeed is a case of a blackamoor child who can plead the "royal birth" Coleridge mentions askance, and dare the critics to challenge his claim. Aaron promises to bring him up to command a camp. In this play, written ten years before Othello, the author mentions a child who is a blackamoor, thick-lipp'd and called "slave," who was allowed the chance of living to grow up and command a camp someday. The action of the play takes place in the Roman Era, and Othello is of the sixteenth century, but the parallels are there, regardless of the vast difference in time.

Aaron speaks of his "fleece of wooly hair (ii.3); Othello is called a "black ram," which may indicate that his hair, too, was wooly.

In Aaron's speech (iv.3) there is a note of strange familiarity which any Southern Negro might applaud as his own expression, especially after he has been called "nigger" by a Southern White man.¹ The nurse brings in the blackamoor child of Aaron and Queen

1. Of the passage which follows, E. E. Stoll (Shakespeare Studies, p.268) has this to say: "Quite vigorously--and in that day--with as much reason, the detestable and abominable Aaron defends his race and colour..."

Tamora; her two grown sons by a royal Gothic father are present:

Nurse. Here is the babe, as loathsome as a toad...

Aaron. Is black so base a hue?

Dem. I'll broach the tadpole on my rapier's point...

Aaron. Stay, murderous villains!

He dies upon my scimitar's point

That touches this my first-born son and heir;

Ye white-lim'd walls! ye alehouse painted signs!

Coal-black is better than another hue,

In that it scorns to bear another hue;

For all the water in the ocean

Can never turn the swan's black legs to white,

Although she lave them hourly in the flood.

Chiron. I blush to think upon this ignomy.

Aaron. Why there's the privilege your beauty bears;

Fie, treacherous hue, that will betray with blushing

The close enacts and counsels of the heart!

Here's a lad framed of another leer;

Look how the black slave smile upon the father...

This speech was made by one who knew the Negro very well,

indeed. History reveals no other race so color-conscious as the Negro.

At this point a brief reiteration is necessary:

From the evidence examined thus far it should appear that Shakespeare's Moors have a negroid exterior, black, "coal-black" skin, thick-lips, and wooly hair. Their psychological behavior shows tendencies which have been said to be characteristic of Negroes: They are sensual, intensely emotional, color-conscious, and inclined to miscegenation because (one reason, at least) of an inferiority complex. The level of their intellect may be ascertained by the fact that in each case presented thus far, their destinies were controlled by people of another race. They were allowed to exercise no real free will of their own.

In total summary, the statement should also be repeated that all of Shakespeare's Moors are Negroes and the following conclusions are offered in support of this theory:

Historically, (historical facts prove) Negroes as slaves were fairly numerous in Elizabethan England. (Moors, generally considered a proud and noble race,¹ hardly fall into this category.) Therefore, Shakespeare gave them the negroid exterior which was the appearance of the black folks he must have known.

Terminology and semantic analysis prove that "Moor" was used for "Negro."

There is no record of any royal Moors visiting England during the sixteenth century.

There are instances on record of miscegenation between Negroes and English during the sixteenth² century; none such for Moors (as we know them) and Englishmen, during the time of Shakespeare.

Dramatically, from one point of view in dramatic criticism, some scholars and critics agree that Shakespeare's characters are all principally Englishmen, in reality. And in regard to setting, for example, it has been stated that such cities as Venice in Shakespeare are really "London in masque attire."

Sir Walter Raleigh shares this point of view:³

"Such a young Englishman is described by Shakespeare when he makes Mercutio rail at Benvolio (Romeo and Juliet, iii.1.,5-33)."

1. See Washington Irving's Moorish Chronicles, N. Y., 1887, or note the characters of Dryden's Conquest of Granada.

2. Kent, William, An Encyclopedia of London, p.146

3. Raleigh, Sir Walter, Shakespeare's England, I., p.43: "His characters--the soldiers, the ladies, the fools, the rogues--are English characters studied from life."

J. Dover Wilson has this to say:¹ "The brawls between the retainers of Montagues and Capulets had their parallel in London."

Since many other points of setting and characterization were modeled after London life and locale, why not a Moor who was featured like one of the slaves whom Hawkins brought back to walk the streets of the English capital? On the bare Elizabethan stage, the actor points toward the upper balcony of the dirty, crude theatre and invites the audience to see you sun breaking the early light of an Italian day. This act of his should be no more far-fetched than for Shakespeare to have represented on the stage a Negro robed in royal Moorish regalia.

Shakespearean portraiture reveals: He calls his Moorish woman a Negro. Aaron's child is a blackamoor, in spite of the fact that the mother is a white woman. Aaron declares that he himself is coal-black, and has wooly hair, while his child has thick-lips. All whom the dramatist does not actually name as such, he pictures as Negroes, giving them negroid characteristics in a rather large measure.

The attitude of the English toward these darkest of Africans is made quite clear: There appears to be double emphasis with a purpose, in the miscegenation-opposition idea. This remarkable stress gives a moralizing tone to that part of Shakespeare with which it is concerned. It is a type of preaching against the dangers of inter-relations with the blacks, and this continuous

1. Wilson, J. Dover, The Essential Shakespeare, p.21

harping would seem to detract from the artistry of the drama.¹ However, it is there, undeniably, and Portia, in The Merchant of Venice, gives voice to what was probably the actual Elizabethan attitude. The Prince of Morocco is the suitor who prompts this speech (i.2):

"If he have the condition of a saint and the complexion of a devil, I had rather he should shrive me than wive me."

When the Prince selects the wrong casket, Portia speaks for all England and the protection of English women (ii.3):

"...Draw the curtains, go.
Let all of his complexion choose me so."

The same idea holds forth in Titus Andronicus (ii.3), when Bassianus chides the Queen for her affair with Aaron:

"Your swarth Cimmerian
Doth make your honour of his body's hue,
Spotted, detested and abominable."

The author allows Aaron to make the case against his kind still worse when he urges the rape of Lavinia (ii.1.) by the two sons of Tamora.

In Othello, Brabantio, Roderigo, and Iago make the marriage of Othello and Desdemona a horrible thing to all except the lovers. Brabantio, particularly, is sincere in his belief that the action of his daughter is beyond all understanding, to mate "with that she feared to look on."

Ben Jonson makes use of blackamoors--"Aethiopians," he calls the daughters of the Niger--in his Masque of Beauty. The black women of this classical spectacle serve to accentuate the beauty

1. Shylock's speech (iii.1) "Hath not a Jew eyes?" and so on, seems to sermonize. Shylock makes what may be interpreted as an anti-slavery, anti-miscegenation sermon also (iv.1, l.89-102) "Because you brought them shall I say to you, 'Let them be free, marry them to your heirs?'"

of the fair. One expression which he uses appears in Shakespeare, Dekker, and others. The catch-phrase must have been commonly used by Elizabethans to indicate an attempt to accomplish the impossible; "And mad to see an Aethiop washed white."

A different attitude is displayed toward black females. An illustration is found in The Merchant of Venice (iii.5)¹ Lorenzo and Launcelot consider the affair quite a laughing matter:

Lorenzo. I shall answer that better to the commonwealth than you can the getting up of the negro's belly: the Moor is with child by you, Launcelot.

Launcelot. It is much that the Moor should be more than reason; but if she be less than an honest woman, she is indeed more than I took her for.

Lorenzo. How every fool can play upon the word!

It is a joke on her that she is pregnant, and not a moment of concern does she cause Launcelot or Lorenzo who treat the matter very lightly. The black woman is of no consequence, evidently, and such treatment is an honor for her, they think--quite probably she shares their opinion. When Aaron is involved in the reverse of this situation, a great deal of bitterness is exhibited.

It may be concluded that the sixteenth century attitude toward Elizabethan black folks is similar to that found in some areas of twentieth century America. Inter-marriage was frowned upon, although a black woman could serve the pleasures of Englishmen. Black aliens were removed as soon as possible after the end of their period of usefulness.

1. Charlton comments (Shakespearian Comedy, H. B. Charlton) p.155: "In Bassanio's service, there is better chance of his coming by eleven windows and nine maids. How one of these unfortunate female domestics suffered from Launcelot's transfer is learnt a later--'The Moor is with child by you Launcelot!'"

5. Jews

History seems to leave no doubt that the Englishman of Queen Elizabeth's day hated the Jew intensely.¹ But intense hatred nearly always involves jealousy, fear, and--even that which the hater but seldom admits--a profound respect. To say the Elizabethans despised the Jew appears to be going a step too far, because it is impossible for one race actually to despise another which has proved itself possessed of so many inestimable abilities and capacities, and which, in many respects, has revealed a cultural advancement beyond that of those who call them alien.

From the English point of view it seems that all prejudice was fully justified because of many grievances suffered at the hands of these anti-Christian immigrants. In addition to the innumerable complaints coming principally from the middle and lower classes, there was the anti-Semitic precedent, long established by other Christian European nations, for the English to follow.

Moreover, there were very few Jews in England between the years 1290 and 1646. Since there were practically none of this race for the Elizabethans to hate, generally, there must have been some forces at work to keep alive the adverse sentiment and strong prejudice. In view of the circumstances to be related later, it

1. Some of the historical accounts in support of this statement appear in these works: (a) Abrahams, The Expulsion of the Jews from England, p. 20; James Parkes, The Jew in the Medieval Community, pp. 157, 223, 361; W. Cunningham, Alien Immigrants to England, pp. 70-74; H. Graetz, Shylock, in der Sage, im Drama und in der Geschichte, p. 24

it seems quite possible that the drama was one of the chief factors of influence in this respect.

Various surveys of the principal facts in the history of Jews in Elizabethan England quite often include mention of the influence of the drama. That the drama of the times reflects the attitude of the people is a theory which very few doubt as being an established fact.¹ If this be true, then, between the generally accepted facts of history of the period and at least some phases of Elizabethan drama, there should exist a distinct correlation.

The migration of Jews into England began before the time of William the Conqueror,² did not end entirely with the almost complete expulsion of 1290 by Edward I, but under Cromwell was re-established, more or less permanently, by 1656.

Before the year 1100, William the Conqueror brought a colony of Jews from Rouen.³ They were allowed no rights of citizenship, even at that time, and were exempt from the common law of the land. They were the first money-lenders; until the time of the Lombards--in the 13th century--they controlled all the principal transactions of finance in England. Throughout the 12th century the influx of Jewish settlers continued. Nearly every town of any size or importance had its Jewry. Principally among these were London, York, Norwich, Colchester, Lincoln, and Leicester.

1. Landa, M. J., The Jew in Drama, "In no department of human activity has Jew-baiting been more persistent and popular than in the realm of the drama." p.9.

2. Kent, William, Encyclopedia of London, p.404. ; Hyamson, Albert M., History of the Jews in England, p.6, states that Whitglaff, King of the Mercians, was aided by "other faithful Christians or Jews," when he fled to England, in 833.

3. Ibid., 404

William Kent has recorded significant dates and incidents which present a concise--if not complete--picture of the Jew's position in English life down to the accession of Queen Elizabeth:¹

"In 1130 the Jews of London rendered 'account of 2000 pounds for the sick man whom they killed.' This probably was some kind of penalty exacted against an unlucky Jewish doctor whose patient had died....In 1186, Aaron on Lincoln, one of the wealthiest of Jews, died; his house still stands...On the coronation of Richard I (1189) there was a holocaust of Jews... There were riots in London against Jews in 1204. King John sought to protect them: 'Since ye know that Jews are under our special protection, we sonder that you allow harm to be done to Jews residing in the city of London.'"

Very soon, however, King John revealed his real purpose for insisting on shielding the Jews: In 1209 he had all the Jews in the kingdom arrested, and he forced them to pay 66,000 marks.

"Rebellious barons sacked the Jewry in Aldgate, and the walls of London were repaired with stones from their houses (1215)...The barons and Londoners spoiled the London Jews and killed many (1264)...A Jewish Synagogue more beautiful than any London church was damaged in anti-Jewish riots (1263) The whole of Jewry was thrown into prison for coin-clipping, and 293 persons convicted and presumably hanged (1278)... London Jews were forced to attend Dominicans' conversion services. Robert of Riddingge, one of the Dominican preachers, instead of converting them, became himself a Jew, a course which sometimes meant death at the stake (1280)."

In the year 1282, all synagogues were closed, and in 1287 the whole community of Jews again was arrested and forced to pay tribute. Edward I was practically compelled to expel all Jews from England in 1290. He still found further use of the outcasts, for one Marlibrun, Jew of Billingsgate, was the only artist, in his estimation, skilled enough to paint a picture of Our Lady for the king. During the reign of Henry IV there were at least

1. Ibid., pp. 404-406

three Jewish physicians in the city of London. In the British museum there is preserved in writing the expert opinion of an Italian Rabbi on the marriage of Henry VIII with Katharine of Aragon.

"Six Jews asked permission to reside in London (1309). One was a physician."

"Mayor Whittington summoned a Jewish doctor to tend his wife. (1409)."

In 1559 Dr. Lopez settled in London. He later became adviser to the Earl of Leicester and eventually served the Queen herself in the same capacity.

"Nathanael, a Jew, was baptized in the church of All Hallows, and John Fox preached (1578)."

Kent, too, associated history with the drama:¹

"Two still familiar associations of Jews are mentioned in Elizabethan plays. In Every Woman in Her Humour, an imitation of Ben Jonson in 1609, a citizen's wife advises any one going to court that he 'can hire a good suit at a Jew's.'"

"In A Strange Horse Race, by Dekker, there is the 'Devil's last will and testament' which refers to the 'Jewish tribe in the Synagogue of Houns-ditch.'"

From the Jewish Encyclopedia² comes additional and corroborating information which places a still larger number of Jews in Elizabethan England:

"With the Expulsion of 1290 the history of the Jewish community in England comes temporarily to an end. For the next three and one-half centuries there is no evidence of organized communal life. Nevertheless, isolated elements certainly remained in the country, for in 1542 a census of Jews was ordered by the Privy Council. Moreover, contemporary records mention a number of individual Jews of foreign

1. Ibid., p. 406

2. The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, pp. 112-113

birth who apparently enjoyed the privilege of settlement. In 1559 similar admission was accorded to one Roderigo Lopez who became the physician of Queen Elizabeth...It is also known that the Domus Conversorum, a kind of lay monastery for converted Jews first established by the Dominicans as Oxford in 1213, continued in existence until as late as 1609."

It is impossible not to notice how often the name of Dr.

Roderigo Lopez persistently reappears in various accounts concerned with Elizabethan aliens. His life story, of melodramatic propensities, seems to form a definite link between the history and the drama of the period; as such, it is worthy of a special place in this work. But the skeleton of dates from Kent is a framework too bare to serve as a basis for the dramatist's corroboration of any attitudes toward aliens which the historian reveals. A section from the Reverend Dr. Cunningham's book¹ supplies much information from earlier dates which may account for the treatment of the Jews in England during the 16th and 17th centuries:

"The dislike and suspicion with which aliens were wont to be regarded in the towns was particularly bitter in the case of Jews. Not only were they non-burgesses, but non-burgesses whose presence was a pretext for the interference of royal officials, and a consequent menace to the liberties of the community. Their status marked them out for the animosity of their neighbours, and served to augment the aversion evoked by racial peculiarities and extortionate dealings; while the evils of their position were aggravated by the zeal of the crusaders, which gave rise to frequent onslaughts upon Jewish infidels."

"It is true that, though they were attacked by the people, they were protected by the Crown; but they were protected only to be plundered. Every step taken to shield and uphold the Jews merely strengthened the power of the Crown over them. As the persecutions increased, they were met by further precautions for the safety of the life and property of the Jews;

1. Cunningham, W., Alien Immigrants to England, pp. 7-74

and public chests were established in the towns where they resided, in which their bonds were to be kept. Security was thus provided for Jewish possessions against all except the King herself. The Jews had the royal support in the exaction of their usurious gains; but the King had as little compunction in siezing the wealth, which they had extorted, as he had scruple in upholding these usurers against his subjects. There was no redress; it was better for the Jews to yield their money than, by resistance, to bring upon themselves both poverty and imprisonment. The position of the King, as their guardian, remained unaltered until the middle of the thirteenth century. Then certain forces came into operation, which impelled a change of policy, and eventually brought about the expulsion of 1290."

"This anti-Jewish policy first declared itself in the concession which Henry III made in favour of the citizen class. To pacify the opposition of the municipalities, which had been shown in widely spread struggles for the exclusion of the Jews, an enactment was made in 1245, which restricted them to residence in places where Jewries already existed. The king was also obliged to yield to the pressure brought to bear upon him by the barons for severer treatment of the Jews. In many cases..estates had been given as security for a loan, and the owners had failed to redeem their lands. But it was an aim of the baronial party as a whole to end the alliance between the Crown and these financiers...by them the King was furnished with supplies, which in great measure, left his action unfettered by the control of the national council."

"The surest means to the attainment of their end was the impoverishment of the Jews. Their wealth had been diminished by heavy demands made upon them. Shut out from many towns, their opportunities of enrichment were further restricted, in 1269-70, by two measures, which virtually precluded them from having any transactions with landowners."

"Despite these restrictions, the Jews remained too serviceable to cast off, and Henry III would not yield to the demands which were made for their suppression by yet another body. The Church had always protested against usury; and in the thirteenth century active measures were taken against the Jews who practised it."

"It was left to Edward I to pursue the course of action enjoined by the clergy;..the Jews had themselves pointed out.. that there was another source from which the King could obtain the loans they might be allowed to leave the country, and that the King would have recourse to the wealthy Lombards, who had

supplanted the.¹ Though the loss of Jewish contributions must have seriously affected the pecuniary position of the Crown, the King knew that, in the Italian merchants, he had other usurers upon whom he could rely..But Edward I avoided unnecessary harshness. He adopted the expedient of retaining them, in the hope that they would follow other pursuits. This attempt, as all other attempts, to absorb the Jews into the population, proved futile. They persisted in their usury, or gained a livelihood by clipping the coin and other fraudulent means. The ill-success of this policy showed that the Jews were likely to remain what they had hitherto been, a disturbing element. There was another method of dealing with them, and Edward I followed it in banishing them; they had been driven out of France more than twenty years earlier."

Evidence from Kent², Landa,³ and others indicates the presence of at least a few Jews and scattered remnants of Jewish converts in the Realm during the period after the Expulsion of 1290 until Readmission in 1656. As time drew nearer to the date readmission, restrictions became less rigorously enforced; Jews in larger numbers entered the country. Among the few who trickled in during the reign of Queen Elizabeth was Roderigo Lopez,⁴ a rather important name in the history of the period. Sir Sidney Lee's account⁵ of his life is quite interesting. It follows in summary:

Roderigo Lopez was born in Portugal (153_?). He came to London as a young physician in 1559, one year after the accession of Queen Elizabeth. He was related to Hernando Lopez, "a Jewe

1. Parkes, J., The Jew in the Medieval Community, p. 157: "...a deputation headed by the arch-presbyter, Elyas of London, begged for permission to leave the country."
2. Kent, William, Encyclopedia of London, pp. 356, 404-8, 532
3. Landa, M. J., The Jew in Drama; (4) p. 71: "A few Jews lived in England, the Edict of 1290 notwithstanding. Some became Christians, others were Jews in secret, a few had been captured at sea. Amongst these was Roderigo Lopez..."
5. Lee, Sir Sidney, The Dictionary of National Biography v.XII, 132-4.

borne," who was a physician in London during the reign of Edward VI. Hernando was banished forever from England, in 1550, after having been found guilty of charges of immorality.

By his skill, Roderigo Lopez advanced rapidly after his arrival in London. After ten years, he was elected a member of The College of Physicians, and at this time he first attracted the opprobrium of his associates by the insult of his rejecting the honor of reading the annual lecture on anatomy. His progress, however, was continuous, in spite of occasional reversals and rebuffs. In 1575 he held the position of house physician at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London. Two years later the records¹ place him as a resident of London, in the parish of St. Peter Le Poer, and with him there was a brother whose name was Lewis. It is at this time that Stow² places his name near the head of the list of chief doctors of London.

Through his attendance on the person of Sir Francis Walsingham, the Queen's secretary, he gained further prominence which resulted in his becoming chief physician in the household of the Earl of Leicester. His name appears in a libelous article on Leicester in 1584, in which he is mentioned as, "Lopez, the Jew," who was famous for his skill at poisoning and "other arts." Friends of Leicester, on the other hand, described him as, "a very honest person and zealous." Even Francis Bacon, who was

1. Wriothsley, Chronicle, Danden Society, ii. 36,37

2. Stow, John, Annales or a General Chronicle of England, 1592

never favorably disposed towards him, mentions the physicaian as, "a man very observant and officious, and of a pleasing and pliable behavior."

Lopez reached the pinnacle of success when he became chief physician to Queen Elizabeth in 1586. His Sovereign favored him more than moderately, even to the extent of granting him complete control of the importation of aniseed and sumac into England.

Despite the fact that he was of Jewish ancestry, writes Gabriel Harvey of him, Lopez had himself become a Christian; but Harvey infers that the conversion was rather a superficial contrivance: He was "none of the learnedest or expertest physicians in the Court, but one that maketh a great account of himself as the best, and by a kind of Jewish practis hath grown to much wealth and sum reputation."¹

At Court he became associated with the Earl of Essex. His skill as a linguist and his knowledge of Spain made him appear a useful tool to the ambitious Earl, who lost no time before attempting to enlist his services. Essex was involved in an effort to gain political intelligence from Spain, but his overtures failed to entice Lopez, who immediately reported all negotiations to the Queen. The consequent investigation caused Essex no little embarrassment, and made him the deadly enemy of Lopez. Subsequent events proved to Lopez that the enmity of Essex was as dangerous as the worst anger of Elizabeth, for it cost him his life quite probably.

1. From Gabriel Harvey's "Comments on Chief Doctors," in Manuscript Notes now in the British Museum.

However, an occasion did arise whereby Lopez was practically drafted into the service of the Earl of Essex. There was a Spaniard who had been brought to London, supposedly from the persecution of Spanish King Philip.¹ He was definitely a part of the Essex plan, and Lopez was assigned to him to act as interpreter. This association with Antonio worked adversely with regard to relations with Essex, and the growing hostility was not lessened by the doctor's having "divulged", to Antonio and his friends, some professional secrets "which did disparage to the Earl's honour."²

At this time, Spanish spies were actually in London seeking by bribery to accomplish the murder of Don Antonio and Queen Elizabeth. Lopez was offered 50,000 crowns to join the conspirators. It was reported that he had accepted the proposal to the extent that he promised the death of Don Antonio, "the first illness that befell him." It appears that he could not be prevailed upon to declare himself willing to murder the Queen, in spite of a very handsome bribe in the form of a rich jewel from the envoys of Philip II.

1. Lee, Sir Sidney, D.N.B., v. p.133: Don Antonio, "whom Essex and his friends brought to England in 1590 in order to intensify the hostility of the English public to Spain."
2. Evidence points to venereal disease as Essex's ailment: In B. G. Harrison's Journals, ii.p.159. "A book by Dr. Peter Lowe chir. in ordinary to the French King,,method to cure and prevent the Spanish sickness, (venereal disease called then, "Great Pox," also) 1596 being dedicated to the Earl of Essex. This disease was brought among Christians (1492) by a Spaniard.. Chris.Columbus with many Spaniards and some women who came from the new found Isles Occidental; some Spaniards..of which Columbus was chief spread this pernicious seed..." From A Short Catalogue, Pollard, 1926.

The Queen's Council soon discovered the plot. One of the conspirators, De Gama, a servant of Don Antonio, was arrested in Lopez's house. Immediately suspicion was directed at the physician, but a subsequent search, instigated and supervised by the Earl of Essex, failed to reveal any incriminating evidence. Essex was severely reprimanded by Elizabeth for insisting on an accusation which he could not prove. The other servants of Don Antonio, who had been hired to assassinate him, were caught and tortured. While on the rack, they made confessions which involved Lopez inextricably.

In January, 1594, Lopez was imprisoned in the Tower of London. On February 28, he was tried at Guildhall. With Essex presiding over the Commission and Sir Edward Coke conducting prosecution, the unfortunate physician was doomed from the start. Lopez was described by Sir Edward as "a perjured and murderous villian,¹" and "a Jewish doctor, worse than Judas himself."

In view of the circumstances, it may seem that any real proof of guilt was lacking, but that Lopez went to his death, the victim of political intrigue and strong religious prejudice against him. Even the Queen was not convinced of his duplicity, for she delayed his execution three months and sought to delay it even further. After he had been hanged and quartered (on June 7, 1594) his widow, Sara, and his children (two sons and three daughters) were allowed to retain much of his property. This latter

1. Old spelling found in D.N.B.

concession was most unusual, indeed.¹ On the scaffold he is said to have stated that, "he loved the Queen as well as he loved Jesus Christ, which from a man of the Jewish profession, moved no small laughter from the standers-by."

Sir Sidney Lee concludes his article with several statements which directly connect certain aspects of historical and dramatic interests. In view of this fact, it will not be inappropriate to quote him from this point on:

"Lopez's reputation, and the popular excitement evoked at his trial, may possibly have directed Shakespeare's attention to the study of Jewish character which he supplied about the time in his Merchant of Venice. Very few Jews settled in England in the 16th century, and Lopez's position arrested national attention. Frequent mention is made of him in contemporary literature. He figures in the fifth scene of "England's Joy," a spectacular piece played at the Swan in 1602, as well as in Marlowe's Faustus, in Dekker's Whore of Babylon, (1607), in Middleton's Game of Chess, iv.2, and in John Taylor's Churches Deliverance Workes, 1630."

In another article by Sir Sidney Lee, Lopez is mentioned as "The original of Shylock."²

History records the presence in England of very few such Jews as Lopez. But the wave of hate which had swept the country practically bare of Jews in 1290 did not remove the many evidences of their presence--the buildings and homes which were the old Jewries;³

1. D'Ewes' Journals, p.599--Lopez had given Queen Elizabeth his valuable jewel, a present from King Philip of Spain, and it is said that she wore it until the time of her death--additional evidence that she bore him no ill-will.
2. Lee, Sir Sidney, "The Original of Shylock", Gent. Mag., 1880
3. Harben, H., A Dictionary of London: Old Jewry, is located north out of Poultry, at No. 43, to Gresham Street, in Cheap Ward and Coleman Street Ward. Recorded date of earliest mention is 1181.

"The district was so named as being one of the quarters inhabited by Jews in early times, and much of the property in the

the streets, names and places; the graves of their dead--nor was the memory of a people who had made their presence felt so acutely to be removed so easily by any such simple expedient as mere wholesale expulsion. In addition to the tales of prejudice--nearly all from the English point of view--there were other influences which bridged very well indeed the long interval from 1290 to 1646. In this group were the few remaining Jews who had not been expelled because of the obscurity of their residence, their forced or voluntary conversion,¹ of those who were simply overlooked; and last, the Jews who were readmitted on special instances. Add to the distorted tales of legendary hatred, the stories passed on by Boccaccio and Chaucer, and other medieval

neighborhood in the 13th century was in their possession, especially in Wood Street, and Ironmonger Lane. "In Stow's time, (at the north end of the Jew's houses after the expulsion of the Jews from England), a large stone building was occupying that site of the Old Jewry."

"Maitland says the Jews settled in Poor Jewry Lane, Aldgate, and the neighborhood, when they returned after banishment by Edward I." p.322 "Stow describes it as a large plot of ground in Red Cross Street (it refers to the JEW'S GARDEN) of old times called J.G.....the only place appointed then in England wherein to bury their dead, until 1177, when a special place was assigned to them for the purpose in every quarter where they dwelt."

NOTE: In Ben Jonson's Every Man in His Humour, i.2., Knowell reads a letter from The "windmill, a tavern which had been a synagogue in pre-expulsion days: "Hast thou forsworn all thy friends in the Old Jewry? or dost thou think us all Jews that inhabit there yet...? Do not conceive that antipathy between us and Hogsden as was between Jews and hog's flesh."

1. Hard-pressed Jews accepted Christ. for convenience, often.

writers; combine the worst elements of the popularly accepted conception of Jewish racial characteristics into the embodiment of a Machiavellian monster which paraded before the Elizabethan public more often than any other stage character from 1588 till 1617;¹ the resulting figure demonstrates very clearly how the attitude of 1290 remained practically unaltered in all its crude, medieval barbarity. There are few who will question the statement that the drama, especially the Marlowian type, was at least partially instrumental in keeping red-hot the ancient iron of Jewish persecution during the reign of Elizabeth.

The English appear divided in their evaluation of Jewish character. The general picture of the situation presents the merchant-middle class and lower classes as being violently anti-Semitic, with the aristocracy sharing this prejudice whenever they were at odds with the Crown. On the other hand, the rulers were ever quick to take advantage of the professional skill and industry of which they found the Jew well possessed.

It seems difficult to deny the implication of history which reveals the bourgeois Englishman screaming anathema and defamation at the Jew on one hand, and seeking the benefit of his gold on the other--breaking the laws which he had made himself against usury, then punishing only the Jew who was, in all reality, only a convenient partner to a crime of the Englishman's principal

1. The Jew of Malta appeared at the Rose 28 times, 1592-4 (Henslowe's Diary)

instigation; a merchant class which was quite willing to take instruction from a race of master tradesmen and traders, but who immediately raged when defeated by this alien "monster" in open competition; the organized church, accepting within its very sacred folds Jewish members who were often forced into conversion, and actually considering them Christians, while they cursed the creatures remaining outside--the same creatures whose ancestors wrote at least half of the very Book from which they took their tenets; an aristocracy which failed to breed the obstinate loyalty of the Jew in vain attempts to enlist his services and his money against the Crown, then forced the one protecting agency to destroy this creature of faith. Professor H. Graetz¹ comments in this respect:

"'Er wurde entrissen vom Lande der Lebenden, man machte bei Frevlern sein Grab--weil er nicht Unrecht gethan und Falsches nicht in seinem Munde war.' Diese Worte des grossen Propheten von dem Knechte Gottes, der zur Schmach und zum Tode verurtheilt wird fur Verbrechen, die er nicht begangen hat, konnte als Motto fur die Geschichte der Juden seit dem Verlust ihrer Selbststandigkeit bis auf den heutigen Tag dienen."

No! It does not appear to be an exaggeration to state that history seems to reveal an Elizabethan whose attitude of "traditional" hatred was based on jealousy and fear. An occasional bit of evidence points to the many good qualities of the Jew having been recognized and even sporadically acknowledged through the genuine, deeply-rooted British sense of fair-play--if Queen Elizabeth may be considered British after shielding Lopez!

1. Professor Dr. H. Graetz, Shylock in der Sage, im Drama und in der Geschichte. p. 1. (Krotocshin. Verlag von B. L. Monasch & Co.)

It is this attitude which the topical drama of the times should reveal (in spite of M. C. Bradbrook).¹

Too many generalities at this point would break the continuity in the establishment of a theory which is not easy to defend. The brief re-clarification of that theory just completed is now followed by a direct plunge into the support of it:

There were present in Shakespeare's England, members of the Hebrew race, but Dr. Lopez was the only one of that group to achieve national prominence. There were a number of Elizabethan stage Jews, but only one has survived the Era. Shylock² is that name which is most truly representative of the Elizabethan Jew,

1. Bradbrook, M. C., Elizabethan Stage Conditions, p. 63: "But the fashion for digging for allusions is clearly a disease.."
2. In that interesting bit of Jewish propaganda by Samuels-Bacon, Shylock vs. The Merchant of Venice, Boston, 1937: front flyleaf: "What's in a Name?" P.33: "...observe the spelling and the proper pronunciation of the word Shyloch; pronounce the 'och' at the end of the word as the German does the word 'Hoch', and the 'y' in the first syllable in Shylich, as you pronounce it in the word, 'syllable,' 'symbol', 'synagogue', 'synopsis'... It stands to reason that the poet would name so prominent a Jewish character as Shyloch in this play, with a Jewish name or Jewish word. Therefore, it would be pronounced in the Jewish way...there is no Jewish word nor has there ever been any Jew named Shylock; there is a Hebrew word, 'Shyloch' and also 'Shyloh'. Shyloh is the name of a city; Shylock means 'Sent', whom God will send, Jacob's blessings;"
2. (b) Lathrop, Elise, Where Shakespeare Set His Stage, pp. 87-88. "There is even foundation for the name of Shylock, which at first hearing sounds so un-Italian. Mention is made in early writings of a "Maronite from Jount Libanus," who lived in 1614, and whose name was Scialac, which, pronounced in Italian fashion, is almost identical in sound with Shylock."

then and now. This statement is meant to include Barabas, Geron-tus, and many others to be discussed here later. Shakespeare shaped his Shylock for the audiences of his day, especially those in the theatre of 1594. To please them he had to express their opinions as well as his own, the later being decidedly of secondary importance. So, once again, "Shylock, front and center!"

E. E. Stoll declares it a senseless task to tear passages from their rightful context.¹ His statement, if taken too seriously, would work an insurmountable hardship in a number of cases. However, there is more than a shade of reason in what he says, so there will be no grouping of passages, but each statement bearing on the general topic is presented in the regular order of occurrence, from The Merchant of Venice:

Shylock (i.3.) speaks to Bassanio who seeks a loan;--

Shylock: Yet his means are in supposition: he hath an argosy bound to Tripolis, another to the Indies..he hath a third at Mexico, a fourth for England, and other ventures squandered abroad. But ships are but boards, sailors but men: there be land-rats and water-rats, water-thieves and land-thieves,..and then there is the peril of waters, winds and rocks. The man is, notwithstanding sufficient..
I think I may take his bond.

Antonio is his chief rival. As a good businessman, Shylock keeps well-informed of Antonio's affairs. This is a tribute to his ability as an active competitor of the Venetian (or London) merchant.

1. Stoll, E. E., Shakespeare Studies, vi., p. 313: "The mistake of the critics is in some measure that of viewing the text piece-meal and not as a whole. Wrenched from the context, there are phrases even sentences, that may, indeed seem pathetic.."

In 1.3., Shylock continues, and his speech reveals that ordinary Jewish customs were fairly well-known by the author. The rigid, selfish code made the Jew a detestable, unsociable creature in the estimation of the English. He replies to Bassanio's invitation:

Shylock: Yes, to smell pork; to eat of the habitation
which your prophet the Nazarite conjured the devil into.
I will buy with you, sell with you, talk with you, walk
with you, and so following, but I will not eat with you,
drink with you, nor pray with you.

At this point Antonio makes his entrance. Shylock comments aside, making himself a dastardly villain to the Elizabethan--as if his being a Jew were not enough--but nevertheless, listing the grievances of both sides:

Shylock: I hate him for he is a Christian,
But more for that in low simplicity
He lends out money gratis and brings down
the rate of Usance here with us in Venice.
If I can catch him once upon the hip,
I will feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him.
He hates our sacred nation, and he rails,
Even there where merchants most do congregate,
On me, my bargains and well-won thrift,
Which he calls interest. Cursed by my tribe,
If I forgive him!

The Jew cannot conceal the fact that he is proud of his ability to make money. The note of boasting in his speech could not have been well-taken by the ilk of Antonio:

Antonio: Or is your gold and silver ewes and rams?
Shylock: I cannot tell; I make it breed as fast:...

This last line may be considered evidence--admittedly weak--that the Jew was not entirely without a sense of humor.

In reply to Shylock's use of the Jacob-Abram story, Antonio expresses disapproval and begins to call names:

Antonio: The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose.
An evil soul producing holy witness..

Shylock then proceeds to state his attitude quite plainly. He elaborates on the many insults which he has been forced to hear and expresses a well-feigned surprise over Antonio's having the temerity to ask a favor of him under the circumstances. Antonio's reply incites his enemy to resolve his overthrow with more determination than ever before. The cunning Shylock immediately checks his own anger rather than drive away his prey:

(1.3.L.108-43) In the Railto you have rated me
About my moneys and my usances;

Still have I borne it with a patient shrug,
For sufferance is the badge of all our tribe.
You call me misbeliever, cut-throat dog,
And spit upon my Jewish gaberdine,
And all for use of that which is mine own.
Go to, then; you come to me, and you say
'Shylock, we would have moneys': you say so;
You, that did void your rheum upon my beard
And foot me as you spurn a stranger cur
Over your threshold: moneys is your suit.
What should I say to you? Should I not say
'Hath a dog money? is it possible
A cur can lend three thousand ducats?' Or
Shall I bend low and in a bondman's key,
With bated breath and whispering humbleness,
'You spurn'd me such a day; another time
You call'd me dog; and for these courtesies
I'll lend you thus much moneys'?

Antonio: I am as like to call thee so again,
To spit on thee again, to spurn thee too.
If thou wilt lend this money, lend it not
As to thy friends; for when did friendship take
A breed for barren metal of his friend?

Shylock: Why, look you, how you storm!
 I would be friends with you and have your love,
 Forget the shames that you have stain'd me with
 Supply your present wants and take no doit
 Of usance for my moneys, and you'll not hear me:
 This my kind offer.

The Jew is made to appear rather efficient in his criminal planning. His plot is apparently a two-sided affair, from his point of view: If the merchant--unfortunatly--succeeds in meeting payment properly, then he will possibly desist in his persecution, out of gratitude for the "favor." On the other hand, Shylock knows the frivolous, unthrifty, care-free nature of Antonio, and hopes to "catch him once upon the hip," with aid of any possible commercial disaster. So the greatest exhibition of intelligence--or cunning--thus far in the play, is that of Shylock. For this honor he has a close rival in Bassanio, who discovers danger lurking in "fair terms and a villain's mind."

A review of i.3. reveals "Jew" used often in place of a proper name as a term of reproach signifying disdain, disgust, villainy, cruelty, or any other sense of deprecation. He is a usurer, "devil," "villain," "cut-throat dog," "and an evil soul"--and, worst of all, "a Jew."

But incident and circumstance combine with inference and statement to delineate a character possessing qualities neither absolutely inhuman nor entirely beyond admiration in the person of Shylock. He is a good businessman; of his ability he is aware. He is represented as having no dull sense of humor. The first declaration of his own villainy is tempered by his mention of personal injuries as well as an ancient grudge to give cause to

his hatred. He then elaborates on his treatment at the hands of Antonio, and on such provocation he is justified--if ever man was--in seeking the life of any person who had subjected him to such infamous persecution. On through the play it is the life of Antonio he seeks, for there is hardly any support to a denial of murder as his purpose. Hopefully he plots to collect his bond and to take the life of his arrogant, prejudiced tormentor.

He is an excellent liar, and not a bad tactician, for he is able to soothe the ruffled suspicions of Bassanio, who senses at once ulterior motives behind the Jews apparent kindness. Moreover, Shakespeare has endowed his Jew with qualities greatly admired by the Elizabethans in themselves: a sense of humor, the ability to make money, to hate wherever there is cause; and to seek to destroy an enemy by whatever means available, with intrigue being the most laudable. However, the question of attitudes poses the problem of determining the extent of their admiration of these qualities in a Jewish trickster who made a Christian his pawn. There is hardly any doubt that most of the Englishmen in the audience of that day shared the attitude indicated by Antonio's speeches. But the spiritual descendants of King Arthur, Sir Galahad, Robin Hood and Friar Tuck could not have been totally without a sense of social justice. They were the people who led the rest of the world to Democracy. There must have been present in the theatre a number of persons who experienced a hesitant--traitorous--qualm of conscience at sight of Shylock's persecution.

These too, may have hoped, as Act One ends, "The Hebrew will turn Christian," to save himself.

There are many varying viewpoints on the several references already mentioned from Act One. In the "armour" of the various arguments by the critics there appear many vulnerable "crannies," just as there are certainly weaknesses in the theories offered thus far by this presentation:

Charlton¹ considers Shylock a hero, and states that Shakespeare was just as prejudiced as any of his arrogant, Jew-baiting countrymen, but that he unintentionally humanized a character which he meant to vilify. Charlton favors the idea that Shylock had only the faintest hope of collecting the forfeit of flesh from Antonio:

"He knows, therefore, that it is the highest degree unlikely that a situation can arise in which Antonio's forfeit will fall due. Shylock's chances of demanding the forfeit are in fact almost equal to the chances of a first prize through the holding of one ticket in the Irish Sweepstakes. A Shylock diabolically bent on ensnaring an enemy for whose blood he lusted might surely have shown sufficient ingenuity to scheme for shorter odds."

Evidently Charlton does not take into consideration the fact that Shylock has definitely expressed his hatred, or his grounds for hatred, rather, and his intention to take revenge with the first opportunity. The Jew has no other means, and the flesh bond is that first opportunity, however remote its possibilities. It is not so much the perils of commercial venture as it is the unthrifty nature of his romantic rival by which he

1. Charlton, H. B., Shakespearian Comedy, p. 147

hopes to destroy him. Charlton elsewhere¹ further implies that Shakespeare was in sympathy with Shylock because of the two-sided aspect of the practice of usury:

"Christian doctrine and law traditionally forbade the lending of money at interest. But here now is Antonio to see the moral problem of money-lending from the Jew's point of view:

'Shylock. Methought you said you neither lend nor borrow upon advantage!'"

A slight indication of Shakespeare's attitude, in this regard, may be seen in Polonius' advice to Laertes (*Hamlet*, i.3.L.75), "Neither borrower nor a lender be."

Charlton continues: (in regards to the example of Jacob's thrift from the Old Testament)

"He is, in fact, exposing the fallaciousness of the formal principles underlying the Christian condemnation of usury..."

Thus there seems sufficient justification for Charlton's inference that the Jew was not alone at fault in the practice of usury, and that Shakespeare was making it uncomfortable for the many non-Jewish usurers in his audience. However, the critic's insistence that Shakespeare did not realize what he was doing is the part of this theory that appears weakest. There is the certainty that Shakespeare had actually greater cause to castigate these English users of his own day than to rail against Jews.

In regard to a sense of humor for Shylock, Charlton has this to say:²

1. Charlton, H. B., Shakespearian Comedy, pp. 140-141

2. *Ibid.*, p. 145

"The naming of the pound of flesh is a 'merry sport': it is so put by Shylock; it is so accepted by Antonio; .. it is, may be, a poor sort of joke; but Shylock has had little practice in developing his sense of humour."

This statement also may be offered in explanation of the very feeble breath of humor that was previously attributed to Shylock. But concerning that same statement, (page 16) Stoll states ruthlessly:¹ "'I cannot tell: I make it breed as fast'.. his answer is meant for nothing better than a piece of complacent shamelessness;"

Further praise of Shylock comes from Charlton:²

"The collocation of phrase, eating, drinking, and praying, sufficiently indicates the intensity of Shylock's spiritual sensitiveness."

But to E. E. Stoll,³ Shylock is a creature not to be taken seriously under any circumstances. He cautions against making a hero of a figure which - he thinks - Shakespeare unsympathetically labels "villain" and "buffoon."

"..that a sleepy audience may not make the mistake of the cautious critic and take the villain for the hero, Shakespeare is at pains to label the villain by an aside at the moment the hero appears on the boards: 'I hate him for he is a Christian.'"

In ii.2., Launcelot calls his master "the very devil incarnate." When Old Gobbo, his father enters, he teases the poor old man for a while before regaling the audience with further

1. Stoll, E. E., Shakespeare Studies, p. 267

2. Charlton, H. B., Shakespearian Comedy, p. 137

3. Stoll, E. E., Shakespeare Studies, p. 265

Jewish disparagement: "My master's a very Jew;¹ give him a present! give him a halter."

Then Jessica calls Launcelot "a merry devil" who has made her hours of loneliness less tedious. She says that her father's house is "hell," but in view of certain circumstances immediately following her statement, the audience may not take her use of the word "hell" in all its worst implications. When she gives the servant a letter to Lorenzo she reveals at once that she has had sufficient freedom to become involved in a secret affair with Christian Lorenzo.

Charlton comments on Jessica's description of her home;²

"'Our house is hell, and thou, a merry devil,' sounds like a convincing exposure of the horrors of Shylock's devils' kitchen, since it comes from his daughter's mouth,... but words, after all, are not absolute in their meaning; they must be interpreted in their context. Shylock's is admittedly a sober house, without 'other' sounds of shallow foppery. But that hardly makes it 'hell,' although it may explain Jessica's tedium."

She confesses to shame of parentage to Launcelot, and her extreme beauty, generosity and charm prompt him to address her as "Most beautiful pagan, most sweet Jew," a remark which seems not uncomplimentary. As a Jew, she has been courted and won by Lorenzo, who evidently found her very attractive. Thus it would appear that enmity was directed at Jewish males, but beautiful Jewish women

1. Critics quote the laws of England during Shakespeare's day which forbade an Englishman serving a Jew, but it must not be overlooked that Shakespeare could dodge a world of errors by calling his scene "Venice," regardless of many London landmarks and appearances.

2. Charlton, H. B., Shakespearian Comedy, p. 156

were quite acceptable as lawfully wedded wives. This statement of Launcelot is, in a way, an answer to S. A. Tannenbaum, who remarks very dogmatically:¹

"Shakespeare's anti-Semitic prejudice is clearly shown in The Merchant of Venice. Tubal is a malicious Jew who delights in torturing Shylock. Jessica is a dishonest and disloyal father-hating min. Shylock is a sordid, miserly, revengeful bloodthirsty, hypocritical Jew, created to delight hsi stupid audience."

Much of Tannenbaum's comment is reserved for future questioning in this work.

H. H. Furness² agrees with Launcelot--in spite of declarations by Shylock, Jessica and Lorenzo--in saying she appears to be no daughter of the Jew.

"I am almost tempted to think that we have in her an outcropping of the old original play, wherein it may have been she was not the Jew's daughter. Can we point to a single trait..?"

But Shylock, nevertheless, continues to call Jessica his "girl." (ii.5.) "Jessica, my girl, Look to my house, I am right loath to go;" he says, and it is difficult to imagine how these words may have been spoken by either a monster or a clown. However, Booth (in Furness's Variorum)³ is not in accord with this view; he even declares this the only instance of the kind in the entire play:

1. Editorial Comment, Shakespeare Bulletin, vol. XIX, No. 1, p.47

2. Furness, H. H., A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare, vol. VII, p.38

3. Ibid., p.88

"These are the only words that Shylock speaks which in the least degree approach gentleness, and they mean nothing."

But in the same scene, Shylock refers to the knavish Launcelot: "The patch is kind enough."¹ With these words he enumerates qualities in his ex-servant which the audience is inclined to believe and which should discount the validity of Launcelot's former disparagement of Shylock. Charlton offers support to this point of view. From Charlton comes support of this point of view:²

"In Bassanio's service, there is better chance of his coming by 'eleven widows and nine maids.' How one of these unfortunate female domestics suffered from Launcelot's transfer is learnt a little later--'The Moor is with child by you, Launcelot.' Launcelot has no doubt been frequently upbraided by Shylock for being a huge feeder, and a great sleeper by day. But what is seen of him serves rather to justify Shylock's reproof than to convict Shylock of an evil disposition. It is Shylock who says, "the patch is kind enough."

Regardless of Jessica's ancestry, Lorenzo (ii.6) declares:

"Beshrew me but I live her heartily;
For she is wise, if I can judge of her,
And fair she is, if that mine eyes be true
And true she is as she hath proved herself,
And therefore, like herself, wise, fair and true,
Shall she be placed in my constant soul."

These compliments are paid to a woman who is a Jew, and the daughter of an allegedly hated Jew. Evidently this elopement is not intended merely as further Jew-baiting, but a gesture of sincerity on the part of a man who seeks to marry the woman he loves.

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1. Palmer offers support to the "sympathetic" view: "Sympathy and not satire, is the inspiration of Shakespeare's comedy." John Palmer, Comic Characters of Shakespeare (editorial in The Times Literary Supplement, London, Nov. 16, 1946, p. 562)
 2. Charlton, H. B., Shakespearian Comedy, p. 155

The theft of his daughter and his ducats adds to the torment of Shylock. This disaster increases his suffering and drives him to distraction. Information brought by his kinsman, Tubal, increases his frenzy and despair--comic, melodramatic, lugubrious, or whatever description may be applied to his emotions--and he settles into a determination to get revenge. Not even a laughing, jeering Elizabethan could say that the poor devil had not sufficient provocation or cause to carry out the legalized murder which he had planned. But there are many latter-day critics who go to further extremes in making light of his Jewish raving. Salarino describes his passion, ii.8.:

"I never heard a passion so confused,
 So strange, outrageous, and so variable,
 As the dog Jew did utter in the streets:
 'My daughter! O my ducats! O my daughter!
 Fled with a Christian! O my Christian ducats!
 Justice! the law! my ducats, and my daughter!
 ...And Jewels, two stones, two rich and precious stones,
 Stolen by my daughter! Justice! find the girl!";

Salarina: Why all the boys in Venice follow him,
 Crying, his stones, his daughter and his ducats.

It is, of course, quite easy to laugh at another's misfortunes, but such laughter at serious misfortune--and, to the head of a Jewish family, it is really a catastrophe to lose a son or a daughter by marriage to a Christian--is conduct of which only the most stupid--or callously cruel--may be found guilty. There are not too many who will agree with S. A. Tannenbaum,¹ who says that the Elizabethans and Shakespeare were all

1. Editorial Comment, Shakespeare Bulletin, v.xix, No.1, p. 47

"arrogant, bumptious, unthinking Englishmen." Stoll,² however, agrees with him, in part, at least, when he makes a statement so inclusive as that which follows:

"In not a single heart do Shylock's griefs excite commiseration; indeed, as they press upon him, they are barbed with gibes and jeers."

Charlton² suggests a more technical--and humane--purpose on the part of the author for increasing the woes of Shylock:

"As the play runs its course, even more effective means suggest themselves to the dramatist for hounding Shylock into madness...His frenzied comprehension of her elopement, and of her actions after the elopement, drives him from distraction to maniacal frenzy. He is now ready to settle into the fixed madness which, despite argument and circumstance, will insist on the one retaliation left to his soul...That the mood in which he is made apt for the trial scene. He is irrevocably 'a strong adversary, an inhuman wretch incapable of pity.' But the fury of his wrath has also brought out his cunning."

Salanio continues the railing (iii.1.) as Shylock draws near: "Let me say 'amen' betimes, lest the devil cross my prayer, for here he comes in the likeness of a Jew. This continuous hammering away at "dog," "devil," "villain," and "Jew," cannot be considered complimentary. But there is a note of fear in the mouthings of Salanio, for he knows that Christian Antonio is about to fall into the hands of Shylock, or at least that he is in imminent danger of doing so.

Again Shylock enumerates his grievances and his reasons for hating Antonio. That he has long hoped for revenge appears evident; (iii.1.)

1. Stoll, E. E., Shakespeare Studies, p. 263

2. Charlton, H. B., Shakespearian Comedy, pp. 155, 158

Shylock: There I have another bad match: (referring to the loss of daughter, ducats, and jewels) a bankrupt,...a beggar that was used to come so smug upon the mart. Let him look to his bond: he was wont to call me usurer: let him look to his bond: he was wont to lend money for Christian courtesy; let him look to his bond.

Then Shylock's reply to Salarnio about the disposition he plans for the bond of Antonio, should he forfeit seems to support the justification of his purpose: (iii.1.)

Shylock: He hath disgraced me,...laughed at my losses,... scorned my nation...cooled my friends, heated mine enemies; and what's his reason? 'I am a Jew.' Hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? if you poison us, do we not die? and if you wrong us, shall we not revenge? If we are like you in the rest, we will resemble you in that. If a Jew wrong a Christian, what is his humility? Revenge. If a Christian example? Why, revenge. The villany you teach me, I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction.

S. A. Tannenbaum¹ calls this "a ridiculous speech which might as aptly be put into the mough of a dog, if it could speak--" and contends that it is "proved by the vicious last sentence to have been written to beget guffaws and hisses." Obviously Mr. Tannenbaum would have a better opinion of Shylock if he would not seek revenge--in other words, if he should display the expected sufferance of Jewish stoicism and take his trampling conveniently--lying down! Even Landa² seems to advocate a like humility:

"While Shakespeare, as suggested by Professor Ward, aroused sympathy for Shylock by the unconscious tact with which he incidently humanized the character, he allowed the Jew to rail himself into a frantic threat of revenge."

1. Editorial Comment, Shakespeare Bulletin, vol.XIX, No.1, p.47

2. Landa, M. J., The Jew in Drama, p. 79

And Stoll,¹ of course, says that "He is only defending himself in what he intends to do. He is putting in a plea for the right of revenge."

But the background of English history and the circumstances surrounding the most sensational case of Jew-baiting since Edward I do not justify the Elizabethan attitude suggested by these critics and commentators. No member of any minority group which has felt the hard, heavy hand of unfriendly persecution could fail to read a different meaning into those lines of Shylock--and of course they are Shakespeare's, so far as we know--and there is no member such a group but would not rejoice, secretly if necessary, that here was a persecuted dog whose tail was not between his legs; who had guts to growl and show his teeth in warning to tormentors to beware! Among the Elizabethans there were at that time a large number of persons who had been subjected to persecution. Various, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth there were Englishmen who were Catholics, Anglicans, and Puritans; there were citizens of French, German, Spanish, Italian, Irish, Welsh and Scotch descent, many of whom were born abroad; representatives of all of these groups, at one time or another, had known discrimination, expulsion or persecution. A large percentage of every Shakespearean audience, even at court performances was a mixed group, and too often the critics of today look at the young, loud-mouthed, generally uncouth, lazy apprentice, and the greedy, boorish, equally uncouth English merchant

1. Stoll, E. E., Shakespeare Studies, p. 326

or the unscrupulous, ambitious tradesman as--practically--the only Englishmen. Perhaps Shakespeare never rose above the general classification of the worst of this group, but it is certain that he sought associates of a different stamp in the theatre and at Court. Even in the more aristocratic circles, persecution was felt acutely. Theatres and performances were made subject to many restrictions--some just and some unjust--and various factions in favor at Court preyed upon less fortunate associates, depending on whoever happened to be on the top turn of the wheel of fickle fortune. Then, no great number of years had passed since the Catholic church was in power, and there still remained in exile, even in 1594, protestants from the time of Queen Mary. Now, those who had suffered might possibly have placed a different interpretation on the speech of Shylock. It should be noted that he gives warning to Salanio and Salarino in sufficient time for some good Christian to extend a helping hand to generous Antonio, but no one appears to offer him relief until financial aid can no longer save him. This is no praise of Christianity from Shakespeare, whatever else it may be.

Shylock's next encounter is with Tubal, before whom he proceeds to bemoan his ill-fortune. The Jewish religion holds tenets which make Shylock's, "I would my daughter were dead at my foot and the jewels in her ear!" not an idle nor an insincere wish. At Tubal's report of the squandered turquoise, Shylock is reminded of his dead wife; and again Stoll¹ laughs with the

1. Stoll, E. E., Shakespeare Studies, p. 312

Elizabethans of the type so aptly described by Tannenbaum¹

(iii.1.), Shylock attaches a sentimental value to the jewel given him by his dead wife, "I had it of Leah when I was a bachelor," and Stoll² says:

"This, most critics assert, the great historian of the drama almost alone dissenting (Creizenach, 1909) is pathos: it is not the ducats behind the turquoise but the thought of Leah which wrings his heart. 'What a fine Hebraism is implied in this expression!' cries Hazlitt.' 'He has so deep a veneration for his dead wife,' says Hawkins, with impetrable gavity, 'that a wilderness of monkeys would not compensate for the loss of the ring she had given him in youth.' More Elizabethan fun running to waste..We may not be used to laughing at a man as he mourns the flight of his daughter, the memory of his wife, or the theft of his ducats; but neither are we used, any more than Salanio or the boys of Venice, to the manner of his mourning;...'I never heard a passion so strange, outrageous, and so variable."

Shylock is a puppet and Tubal pulls the strings. Now he shrieks in grief for his ducats or his daughter, now in glee at Antonio's ruin."

Charlton has stated that Shylock's plan to murder Antonio was too far-fetched for a man of Shylock's intelligence to place any great expectations, and that it was not until the Jew had been driven almost to insanity that the obsession for blood revenge became well seated:³

"At length, the idea that with the bond, he has a means of righteous vengeance against Antonio and the Christians at large has entered Shylock's mind."

But place beside his statement, Jessica's speech (iii.2.), and Charlton seems to have missed a point:

1. Tannenbaum, S. A., Editorial Comment, Shakespeare Bulletin, v. 19, p.47

2. Stoll, E. E., Shakespeare Studies, p. 312

3. Charlton, H. B., Shakespearian Comedy, p. 151

Jessica: When I was with him I have heard him swear
 To Tubal and to Chus, his countrymen,
 That he would rather have Antonio's flesh
 Than twenty times the value of the sum
 That he did owe him; and I know, my lord,
 If law, authority and power deny not,
 It will go hard with poor Antonio.

Thus it appears that Shylock's hatred has led him to seek extreme revenge which he has long contemplated. There must have been those among the audience who felt such an attitude was fully justified. Antonio himself admits his enmity is not without some grounds (iii.3.): Under guard, he has just followed Shylock through the streets seeking "merch." The sight of a Christian trailing a Jew, begging for mercy, may have been a device employed by the author to direct more intense hatred at Shylock's tribe, but whatever his motive, by this means he has obviated any future notions of heroism which Antonio's character may entertain. The once-proud Antonio, his pitiful suit denied, declares defiantly-resignedly:

Antonio: He seeks my life; his reason well I know;
 I oft deliver'd from his forfeitures
 Many that have at times made moan to me;
 Therefore he hates me.

His injury to Shylock, as he states it, is but light, indeed. Perhaps there was no reason for him to repeat the long list of injuries enumerated earlier by Shylock--the spurning, spitting, vituperative assaults in public. He closes the scene quite pathetically:

Antonio: Well gaoler, on. Pray God Bassanio come
 To see me pay his debt, and then I care not.

Of the two characters, at this point, even an Elizabethan might have admitted that Shylock cut the greater figure in spite of the fact that he was a Jew.

In Act Four the Duke warns Antonio that he must face "A stony adversary, an inhuman wretch, Uncapable of pity,..."

Shylock enters to live up to advance notices of his flinty, unrelenting reputation of mercilessness. He announces that he has sworn by his holy Sabbath, "To have the due and forfeit of my bond." There is a dignity in the meter and in the phraseology of his words that should remove some derision from the laughter--if an y--of the audience, then, or of the cynical critic, now. Bravely he holds forth against victim, Duke, and all the rest of Venetia. He deigns not to honor the Duke's question with a proper or direct answer concerning the cause of his hatred:

Shylock: So I can give no reason, nor I will not
More than a lodged hate and a certain loathing I bear Antonio,...

One by one he squelches them all--Bassanio, Salerio, the Duke--until even Antonio can bear the ignominy of their various supplications no longer:

Antonio: You may as well do any thing most hard
As seek to soften that--than which what's harder?
His Jewish heart.

Radford¹ treats the matter quite lightly but with some truth:

"With this respectable, old established, and, one may almost say, reasonable hatred intensified by Jessica's conduct, Shylock finds himself in a position to take revenge. Antonio has made default in payment on the day,...He can kill his enemy without incurring any risk of injury to himself. The temptation was great. There are several Christian merchants of blameless character (we mean they have never been in prison) at whose mercy we should be very sorry to be under similar circumstances."

1. Radford, G. H., Shylock and Others, pp. 21-22

Shylock does not appear to gloat in his moment of triumph, when he has what may be considered the greatest satisfaction-- the highest officers and the most influential Christians begging his mercy and offering him gold. But he is above regaling his lust for vengeance in such petty entertainment. He has achieved a long-cherished objective within the law, and as long as the law of the land upholds his actions, he pushes his advantage to its limit, taking occasion to lash the Christian audience with further instance of their own heartlessness;

Shylock: What judgment shall I dread, doing no wrong?
 You have among you many a purchased slave,
 Which, like your asses and your dogs and mules,
 You use in abject and in slavish parts,
 Because you bought them: shall I say to you,
Let them be free, marry them to your heirs?
 Why sweat them under burthens? let their beds
 Be made as soft as yours and let their palates
 Be season'd with such viands? You will answer,
 'The slaves are ours'; so do I answer you:
 The pound of flesh, which I demand of him
 Is dearly bought; 'tis mine and ' will have it.
 If you deny me, fie upon your law!¹

A speech like this, coming at a time when Drake, Hawkins and even the Queen, were involved in the African slave trade,² could not have been expected to increase the moral comfort of the audience.

Next, there follows the knife-whetting scene which is the signal for further curses from Gratiano, with his "harsh Jew," and: Gratiano; O, be thou damn'd execrable dog! But Shylock continues to give better than they send, and not without a tinge

1. Note (iv.1.1.93) Shakespeare's preaching against miscegenation. Further discussion in Chapter III

2. Acts of Privy Council, July 11, 18, 1596: to remove the blackamoors "of which kind of people there are already here too many."

of wit:

Shylock: Till thou canst rail the seal from off my bond,
Thou but offendst thy lungs to speak so loud:

The time of Portia's fatal entrance arrives. Charlton¹
has analyzed her purpose and technique, not unwisely it seems:

"For the passion for Jew-baiting imposes a further task on Portia, and this makes her moral exaltation little better than a pose..It seems a callous trifling with a certain victim, a cat toying with the poor mouse it is about to kill."

Therefore she does not deflate the prodigious, swollen bubble of Shylock's triumph in time to prevent his taking another violent thrust at the audience (for it is an aside):

Shylock: These be the Christian husbands. I have a daughter;
Would any of the stock of Barrabas
Had been her husband rather than a Christian.

Not only does Shylock make fun of foppish, frivolous gallants, but he places himself above Marlowe's creature--the Machiavellian monster--of a Jew to whom no one has ever attributed the least of human traits. If Shakespeare's opinion may be said to represent that of any part of his audience, the attitude of prejudice towards Jews may be considered to have improved in proportion to the improvement of Shylock over Barabas. That the Lopez incident may have influenced the change--however slight--is a matter for future consideration here. The hero-villain, if the name suits the character, moves toward his bloody purpose, when, absolutely without warning he is transformed, in a moment, from a great figure of awe and terror into a--human being. It seems the transformation is quite simple, for Shylock has been

1. Charlton, H. B. Shakespearian Comedy, p.159

all the while a human being. Numerous injustices had given him sufficient provocation; so long as he was within the law, he felt he had the right to demand what was his own. The moment he realized that the law was no longer with his cause, he took his defeat, not gracefully or magnanimously, but ordinarily, as any Christian or any other ordinary human might be expected to do, in that day or this. And for all his "bloodthirstiness," what was his punishment? Nothing at all severe sufficiently to suit the "Roman-holiday" Jew-baiters; only the loss of half his estate for the remainder of his life, and--what must have been the hardest part of his sentence to bear--the order to become a Christian.

Of Shylock's willingness to accept his principal when the courts have ruled against him, Stoll¹ comments:

"As Dr. Furness observes, Shylock's oath and his horror of perjury are belied by his clutching at thrice the principal when the pound of flesh escapes him.."

Landa² does not seem to be able to account for Shylock's actions; however, he takes occasion at this point to express his opinion of Shylock in relation to the attitude towards the Hebrew race:

"It is here, in the great moment of the trial scene where the character, left en l'air by Shakespeare, falls to pieces. Shylock is worked up to a frenzied lust for the life of Antonio, but he cringes the moment his own life is in danger. Until that moment Shylock has been no coward. He has braved all the power of mighty Venice with great daring and wit."

1. Stoll, E. E., Shakespeare Studies, p. 266

2. Landa, M. J., The Jew in Drama, p. 79

It is necessary to insert a reply previously made to the accusation of cowardice on the part of Shylock: Shylock's grandeur definitely descended on the commonplace when he discovered the legal supports of his vengeance had been removed. This does not seem to indicate cowardice, necessarily.

Landa continues;

"For the character as he totters, ruined and broken, from the presence of the Duke of Venice, there may be murmurs of pity; but 'Shylock' and the 'pound of flesh' for which he has clamoured are remembered and stored up for application to his people. Shakespeare but crystalized a phrase that summed up medieval hatred of the Chosen Race and gave to the masses a weapon of easy persecution that will exist for all time. Nor can even Marlowe be accused of founding the tradition. Barabas, in the Jew of Malta, gave Shakespeare a model and an incentive, but he had many a prototype in the crude religious drama that preceded him."

In a comic spirit that is quite refreshing, though not of the style approved by some the more serious critics, Radford² describes the powerful concluding scene for the character of Shylock:

"Shylock was avaricious, but his revenge rises superior to his avarice; he will not be balked of his revenge for money. This is the noblest point in his not very noble character...But it is always risky to rely on a strict view of the law when the court is dead against you on the merits. The judge will lay hold of some quibble..."

"What became of him subsequently is merely matter of conjecture, but his conduct in court justifies us in inferring that he accepted the inevitable and made the best of it. Had he lived in our day, we might conjecturally sketch his subsequent career thus: His baptism was performed with pomp in a historic temple by a distinguished ecclesiastic who knows that there is Eternal Hope for Jews if not for publishers..His marriage later on with a Dowager Countess who

1. Landa, M. J., The Jew in Drama, p. 10

2. Radford, G. H., Shylock and Others, p. 23;

largely endowed the Society for Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews made his social position impregnable, and the money he subsequently made by publishing a financial newspaper far exceeded anything ever acquired by him in his old profession of usury."¹

Shakespeare may or may not had a model² for his Shylock, but that Barabas set an immediate precedent is fairly certain. His purpose may have been a manifold proposition, while his methods of achieving whatever results he may be said to have achieved does not appear so difficult to analyze.

Shakespeare ever sought to entertain his audience, but if his work be considered artistic, it must be said that he also succeeded in combining universality with his journalistic sense of appeal-to-the-populace. In that respect, his Merchant of Venice held more than just the historical hatred of Jews, and the old stock character of the cruel usurer. Shylock is more than just a "stock character," as much of the foregoing material is intended to illustrate. Therefore, the author's purpose goes further than mere Jew-baiting, for it appears that, in many instances, he is satirizing Christian usurers³ and certainly Christian

1. Ibid., p.26

2. Ibid., p.12, "The Philistines among the latter (audience) no doubt held that the play was designed to inculcate by example the wisdom of our legislators in excluding the Jews from the country and the folly of the Venetians in admitting them. Frenchmen, Welshmen, and other 'mountain foreigners' Shakespeare knew, and in depicting Fluellen and Dr. Caius he had numerous models on which to work; but in drawing Shylock he had to exercise his imagination, probably unassisted by any living creation in the same sense that Caliban is."

3. Radford, G. H., Shylock and Others, p. 16: "Recognising the hardness of heart of the Christian merchant, the legislature, while licensing the sin, merely sought to limit the evils of it by fixing ten per cent. as the maximum of interest. A house half-filled with usurers and borrowers was highly amused by the wildly improbable character of Antonio."

borrowers, for Antonio appears far less heroic in his greatest moments than does Shylock in his; on the other hand, Antonio sinks deeper in his abject misery than Shylock, for not once does Shylock beg for mercy--his greatest plea is for justice. It is difficult but to imagine that there were some among the Elizabethans who would have agreed with J. Dover Wilson¹ in this matter:

"It is just because Shakespeare conceals nothing and condemns nothing--because he is so utterly unlike a Schoolmaster or a preacher²--that the young then and the young now feel safe with him and having gained their confidence, he may lead them where he will."

"He shows us everything of Shylock's meanness, cunning, and cruelty..., vices he detested..and notwithstanding, he compels the best of us to cry out, 'By Heaven, the man is wronged.' This is the quality that makes Shakespeare one of the great moral forces of the world, a human.."3

Shakespeare through his Shylock takes a subtle poke at slavery. It hardly seems that this is an unconscious or an accidental gesture. The criticism is very mild, but criticism it is regardless. Shylock's code forbids the buying or selling of human beings, yet usury at that day was considered worse than the traffic in the black flesh of Africans which filled the ever needy coffers of the Realm, from Queen to lowly mariner. Shakespeare had his Shylock make quite a bit of fuss over one pound of Christian flesh and mentions quite slyly the millions of pounds of blacks which Christians were buying and selling. But Shakespeare is seldom the "schoolmaster or preacher." His work often slaps

1. Wilson, J. Dover, The Essential Shakespeare, p. 53

2. Shakespeare's "preaching" is a matter for questioning, here and elsewhere. See page 32, and Chapter III.

3. Wilson, J. D., The Essential Shakespeare, p. 81

the reader rather smartly across the cheek to tell him, "Methinks there may be something wrong with you,"¹ but seldom is there advice on what to do about it. Shylock serves his author's purpose rather well, as Stoll² comments on this duty of a dramatic character:

"A character is as much the author's means of communication to the public as a phrase or sentiment.."

On the technique of the character delineation of Shylock, Charlton asserts that Shylock becomes a hero without the author's intentions, and that what was begun as just another bit of Jew-baiting for the entertainment of Shakespeare fellow Jew-haters, turned out to be a bit of criticism of Christian prejudice combined with the glorification of a humanized Barabas:

"Shakespeare, it would seem meant to make, and never doubted that he had made, a Shylock fit only for exciting execration and opprobrium. But is no less certain that Shylock has become a different figure. There has been a strange redistribution of sympathies; and Shylock the ogre becomes Shylock the hero."³

"The Shylock of whom the Elizabethan pit, and Shakespeare among them, made such hearty mockery, and the Shylock who wrings the withers of modern audience are both in the play. The one is Shylock as he was meant to be, the other is Shylock as he became through Shakespeare's unconscious dramatic instinct."

"The artist apparently has a dual personality. He is his conscious self, and he is an artist. On the one hand he has like the rest of us his normal nature and his familiar mind, functioning not differently from the minds of the rest of us. On the other hand, he has the artist's gift; he possesses a faculty of apprehending and of bodying forth forms of things not known to his rational self."

1. An editorial apology for an attempt at blank verse.

2. Stoll, E. E., Shakespeare Studies, p. 261

3. Charlton, H. B., Shakespearian Comedy, p. 128

"A parallel illustration suggests itself. There is Milton the puritan determining to write a poem to the glory of God. But Milton the poet has to write it; and Paradise Lost emerges almost a paean to Satan. Milton the man certainly never meant this to happen; it is certain that if Milton had for a moment realised that Satan would triumph in men's minds because of his Paradise Lost, he would unhesitatingly have torn the manuscript to shreds."¹

The resulting product of Shakespeare's art approximates a fraction of the heroic proportions mentioned by Charlton, but his interpretation of the author's intentions is a little less susceptible to criticism;²

"For however one reads the play, it is certain that the intentions of the author were in many ways defeated. Shylock, Antonio, Portia and Jessica do not stand forth as they were meant to do. The parts they were called upon to play by their author's prejudices did not square with those the dramatist worked out for them. And whatever the conflict makes of the particular play as a single work of art, however much the new Shylock intrudes to the destruction of its artistic unity, the emergence of the new Shylock is undeniable evidence of the incalculable value of the artist's intuition in helping humanity to reach the vital truths which in the end are revealed only through sympathy and on which the world's future welfare is undoubtedly to be built."

Stoll³ mitigates the extremities of Charlton's "unconscious Shakespeare."

"Critics speak of a character taking the bit between his teeth and running away with his author, doing things without the author's permission or knowledge...But this autonomy and independence of a character is all a mere delusion and nothing more, thanks to the externalizing power of the creator's imagination."

In the general dramatic development of his Merchant of Venice, Shakespeare employs comic situations, wide use of puns--even Shylock⁴ joins in the spirit of it all--and a noble blank

1. Ibid., 129-130

2. Ibid., 160

3. Stoll, E. E., Shakespeare Studies, p. 260-261

4. (iii.1.) Salanio: And Shylock for his own part knew the bird was fledged; and then it is the complexion of them all to leave the dam.
Shylock: She is dammed for it.

verse adds dignity in what appears to be just the right places, in order to produce just the right atmosphere.¹ There is a song (iii.2.); there are letters; intrigue, two love affairs (Launcelot's not included) and an elopement help the play to sparkle. The Author entertains his Elizabethan audience and he tells them no lies about their own conduct. He "makes" a Jew to suit his own fancy--to cause the stupid only to laugh at every conceivable opportunity and the more intelligent to squirm occasionally with their entertainment.

Since his Shylock receives no visible punishment on the stage and is definitely more of a human being than Barabas, it may be concluded that The Merchant of Venice is not merely more Jew baiting from the pen of Shakespeare.²

The Merchant of Venice appeared in 1594, at the time when national attention had been focused for some time on the assassination conspiracy involving Dr. Lopez. That the Jewish doctor was made the foil of scheming politicians--including the jealous, vindictive Earl of Essex--was not unknown in Shakespeare's day. The judges and most of those present at his trial declared against him openly because he was of Jewish ancestry, but he was not without some friends, including Queen Elizabeth herself. The public, especially the apprentices and merchants joined the bloodthirsty Essex and company, adding their prompted shouting to the general

1. i.1.; i.3.L.41-183; ii.1.; ii.3-9.; iii.2-5.; iv; v.

2. Stoll's Shakespeare Studies; Radford's Shylock, pp. 9-26 (Stoll, p. 335: "No bitterness or indignant irony directed against Jews or the haters of Jews."..."Shakespeare and the Elizabethans shuddered at him and laughed at him;...so should we..")

din to hasten the execution of Lopez. The physician became ill soon after his imprisonment and the public feared the master poisoner was slowly dying of his own contrivance to avoid execution. The Queen refused to sign his death warrant until she was practically forced to do so. Even then, she delayed the final sanction for a month or more. After his death, she did not confiscate his property as was the usual practice, but took care to leave Lopez's family in very good circumstances; nor were they persecuted because they were Jews or relatives of a convicted felon. Was the Queen alone in her stand for Lopez? Apparently she wasn't. There was another who was brilliant enough to take the stand, not especially to defend the Jew, but to paint a portrait of the Elizabethan so that he could see himself and thereby judge the right or wrong of his own acts. Shakespeare, the artist, drew his verbal picture well. That he made a definite contribution to the awakening of more decent instincts and mores in the hearts of his countrymen is a special point in the conclusion of this chapter.

In support of this theory, a statement from Stoll carries no little weight, for this critic definitely joins many others linking Shylock and the Lopez affair:

"Even his judges spoke of him as 'that vile Jew.' Though no longer a Jew by faith, when he protested from the scaffold that 'he loved the Queen as he loved Jesus Christ,' such words 'from a man of the Jewish profession,' says Camden, 'were heard not without laughter,' and, 'He is a Jew!' men cried aloud as the breath passed from his body. 'And what's his reason?' asks Shylock in the play: 'I am a Jew!'"

Landa states quite simply: "The year 1594 saw Lopez executed and introduced Shylock."¹

Literary influences contributing to Shakespeare's portrayal of Shylock date from Chaucer and earlier in the Middle Ages.² Beginning in the ninth century, the liturgical plays especially vilified the Jews. A noteworthy example of these is The Play of the Sacrament,³ which appeared, probably, in the latter half of the fifteenth century. In 1557, before the Accession of Elizabeth, North began a translation of Guevaro's Despartado de Cortesanos (not published until 1558) in which he used the word "Jew" as a term of contempt, a practice made quite fashionable by Lyly in his Euphues of 1578.⁴ An early comedy, Jacob and Esau,⁵

1. Landa, M. J., The Jew in Drama, p. 86

2. Chaucer, G., "The Prioress's Tale," Canterbury Tales: The "littel clergeon," a seven-year-old school-boy, is murdered by Jews through whose quarters he has traveled daily singing Alma redemptoris. His body is discovered by his miraculously continued singing (in spite of his throat having been cut). A holy grain, previously placed on the tongue of the child by "Christes Mooder sweete," proves the sustaining influence. The body is rescued and the grain removed so that the spirit of life may depart.

3. "The Play of the Sacrament" (edited) by J. M. Manly in Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama, pp. 238-276: Jonathas, follower of "Machomete," rich, and "chefe merchante of Jewes," with his Jewish servants, puts Christianity to test by "The holy Sacrament, the whyche we have done tormentry." The glorious, miraculous manifestations of the Almighty, in the forest of Aragon, finally convince the Jews of the Holy Trinity's power, and they become converted.

4. Landa, M. J., The Jew in Drama, p. 50: "It (Euphues) appeared in 1578, to set a fashion in the use of the word 'Jew' as a contemptuous term."

5. *Ibid.*, pp 44,45: "Revived by the Eliz. Stage Society, March, 1911"

may be classed with Ralph Roister Doister (1534-1541), and Gammer Gurton's Needle 1566). Written by William Hunnis about 1557, it was taken from Jewish sources, as was Godly Queen Hester (1525-1529). These plays also follow the general pattern since they contain nothing complimentary for Jews.

After the Accession of 1558, there appeared The Jew, a play about which very little is known except that Stephen Gosson mentions a few words about it in his chronicles (1579).¹ Concerning Gosson's mention, Charlton comments:²

"The likelihood is that The Merchant of Venice is his reshaping of the play, The Jew...'representing the greediness of worldly chusers and the bloody minds of usurers,' which Gosson had seen sometime before 1579."

Elise Lathrop continues in this vein:³

"'...The Jew, shewn at the Bull, representing the greediness of worldly choosers,' which seems from his account to have the same plot; but the Pecerone of Ser Giovanni, the Gesta Romanorum, of which a manuscript version of the time of Henry VI is now in the British Museum,--hence it was possible that Shakespeare was familiar with it, an old ballad, Ger nutus, and The Orator, written in French by Alexander Silvayn, translated into English by Anthony Munday, and printed in 1596, are all possible ones. In the latter work is the 'Declamation of a Jew, who would for his debt have a pound of flesh of a Christian.'"

When Marlowe's Jew of Malta appeared (after 1590, probably in 1592) the old popular conception of the stage Jew was resumed. Barabas is avowedly the product of tradition and the Machiavellian influence, as the dramatist announces in his prologue. Not only

1. Ibid., pp. 47, 48, 50.

2. Charlton, H. B., Shakespearian Comedy, p. 126

3. Lathrop, Elise, Where Shakespeare Set His Stage, p. 87

does Shakespeare model his Shylock after Barabas,¹ but also the whole of British drama stands indebted to his (Marlowe's) genius.

Landa describes this indebtedness:²

"...he swept away the impedimenta of the transition period and laid the imperishable foundation of the British national drama on which Shakespeare was to erect so mighty a structure."

"But for Shakespeare, the stage-Jew might have been different. Marlowe's Barabas is too absurd a monster to have lived as Shylock has done. The repulsive figure with the exaggerated nose would have passed with the play of which he was an indispensable appanage. It was not to be, however, and we have to take history as we find it...Shakespeare's contemporaries and immediate successors were poets of amazing power, dwarfed though they are beside him; and that littleness is mainly due to their lack of humanity and weakness of characterization. They were coarse in their humour when not given to the accumulation of horror...although they originated no figure to complete a trinity with Shylock and Barabas, they observed the statutes of The Merchant of Venice and The Jew of Malta with more rigid faith than any other laws."

1. Shylock and Barabas, Hazelton Spencer in Elizabethan Plays, p.66
 "Barabas, like Faustus and Tamburlaine, is a child of the Renaissance; though he is not like them a hero, but a hero-villain...The play has been seriously suggested, a farce. Barabas is the crafty (to the Elizabethans, Machiavellian) scoundrel who finally overreaches himself. The audience doubtless laughed derisively at his villainous asides and hugely enjoyed his fall. The conclusion is irresistible that, whatever his original intention, Marlowe turned his efforts into capitalizing anti-Semitic prejudice...He certainly succeeded. The great puzzle is flagging, toward the end of Act Two, of the undeniable power and grandeur of the opening. Various theories have been proposed to account for it...The thread of the plot is throughout probably Marlowe's but in the first two acts, the central character is humanized. In the rest of the play we have the bare plot, possibly with interpolations and alterations, but certainly stripped of the humanizing touches with which Shakespeare manages to keep Shylock invested, even after the game has gone against him. In both cases, Elizabethans gloated over the villain's ruin. But Shakespeare's Jew, execrated though he be, is always a fellow-creature...Eminent Jews resident in Constantinople have been suggested as possible inspiration, or London Jews..."
2. Landa, M. J., The Jew in Drama, p. 55
3. Ibid., p. 11

Landa¹ makes a gesture at doing with Barabas what Sir Sidney Lee has done with Shylock and Lopez:

"The Jew of Malta has not intrigued students as The Merchant of Venice has done, else some agile mind would have endeavoured to fix a definite date for the play with the object of providing an historical motive equivalent to the Lopez conspiracy for which Sir Sidney Lee has gained acceptance as the prologue to Shakespeare's work. The figure exists--one Joachim Gaunse, who came to England from Prague about 1581 to conduct mining operations in Cumberland and South Wales. In conversation with a minister of Bristol in 1589 he denied the divinity of Jesus, and when charged with blasphemy, declared himself a Jew. The play is, presumably, an echo of the accusation spread in Central Europe in the fourteenth century that the Jews had caused the Black Plague by poisoning the wells, to which there is a reference."

But Landa dismisses Barabas too lightly. As one of the most prominent of Elizabethan stage-Jews his character deserves a more complete analysis. Such an analysis should prove a worthwhile contribution to a discussion of the Elizabethan attitude toward Jews. Seccombe and Allen offer a critical contribution which forms an interesting introduction for this study of Marlowe and Barabas:²

"The greatest peice of 'planning' that Marlowe achieved, as it seems to us, is the construction of The Jew Of Malta, written in all probability during 1589. It is not known where Marlowe derived the materials for his play, but the plot is of the most elaborate kind known to the stage, and is full of startling and improbable situations; while the novel idea of introducing a Jew upon the stage, and rendering him at one and the same time odious and ridiculous to the spectators promised a sensational effect not a whit inferior to that produced by his previous plays. In Barabas, the rich Jew, avarice ceases to be a sordid vice, and swells, to the proportions of a dominating passion. The masterful grasp that marks the opening scene was a new thing in English tragedy. Language so strong, so terse, so reverberating had never been heard before on the English stage. Had the character developed throughout with the same power as in the first

1. Ibid., pp. 57-58

2. Seccombe, Thomas and Allen, J. W., "Drama", The Age of Shakespeare, v.2., pp.47-48

two acts, Barabas would have been worthy to stand beside Shylock. As however, Faustus degenerates into a vulgar conjuror (in scenes xi and xii), so Barabas, when he develops into a fiend incarnate (like Aaron in *Titus Andronicus*), regarding the most horrible atrocities as the chief end and aim of his existence, loses his hold, not only upon our sympathy, but also upon our interest. The character is taken out of the range of humanity and becomes a caricature. By this means the last three acts, though cleverly contrived, become little more than a concatenation of the crudest horrors. Marlowe pandered, in short, to that portion of the London crowd which rose at Titus Andronicus and The Spanish Tragedie."

It seems as if Landa, Seccombe and Allen, and many others fail to make an association which is quite convenient, namely, that of the same circumstances credited to the creation of Shylock-- the case of Dr. Lopez. However, there are those who entertain the idea, and those receive a positive recognition here.¹ The Jew of Malta rode into popularity on the earliest ripple of the wave of evil prejudice which destroyed Lopez. There is hardly any denying that the author capitalized on traditional and popular attitudes. Dr. H. Graetz comments briefly on this theory:²

"Der damalige Impresario des Theaters von Blackfriars, Henslowe, wusste diese Lust des Publikums an den scenischen Schandthaten und Demuthigungen der Juden auszubeuten, and liesz besonders das Drama 'der Jude von Malta' in wenigen Monaten zwanzig Mal aufführen. In diesem Schauspiel des mit Shakespeare zeitgenössischen Dramatikers Marlowe, worin der Jude Barabas eine dämonische Rolle hat, ist der Doktor Lopez formlich copirt. Barabas ist Arzt wie dieser, hat in Italien Medicin studirt und, wie er selbst sich rühmte, die Priester durch zahlreiche Vegrabnisse bereichert. Er versteht geheim wirkendes Gift geschickt anzuwenden, er vergiftet sammtliche Nonnen in einem Kloster und noch andere Personen in Stücke, welche ihm feindlich waren."

Marlowe's Jew, in Act One, appears to be, in most respects a real Hebrew character. There are critics who say that Marlowe

1. Otis and Needleman, Outline-History of English Literature, p.157
2. Graetz, H., Shylock, in der Sage im Drama, und in der Geschichte, pp. 28-29

even excels Shakespeare in the first two acts--that Barabas, at this stage of the play, is more like a real Jew than is Shylock at any point on The Merchant of Venice.¹

Machiavel enters first to strike the keynote of the piece:

"Admired I am to those that hate me most;"...
I count religion but a childish toy,
And hold there is no sin but ignorance."

No great depth of perception is required to understand that the dramatists is not planning to handle the question of religion with any great respect. He proceeds to allow the Jew of his tragedy the doubtful honor of his devilish partnership:

"...I come
But to present the tragedy of a Jew,
Who smiles to see how full his bags are cramm'd;
Which money was not got without my means."

There next appears, amid the splendors of his wealth and power, an arrogant, avaricious Barabas, who boasts to the first merchant:

"Go tell 'em the Jew of Malta sent thee, man;
Tush, who amongst 'em knows not Barabas?"

Left alone again, he says to himself:

"And thus on every side enrich'd;
These are the blessings promised Jews"

He makes himself even more hateful to his Elizabethan audience with a very indelicate thrust at Christianity:

"Who hateth me but for my happiness?...
Or who is honoured now but for his wealth?"

1. One such critic is W. F. P. Stokley. He comments on this point in his article, "The Jews of Marlowe and Shakespeare", in The Irish Ecclesiastic Record, XLIV (1924), pp. 71-88 (pp.67-88)

Rather had I, a Jew, be hated thus,
Than pitied in a christian poverty;¹"

When they learn that they must bear most of the financial burden of tribute to the Turks, Barabas and the other three Jews receive the news with horror, and the Elizabethan audience applauds:

First Knight. And 'tis thy money, Barabas, we seek...
Fernandez. No, Jews, like infidels;
For through our sufferance of your hateful lives,
Who stand accursed in the sight of heaven,...

Historical evidence supports this representation of the treatment of Jews. They were usually pawns in the hands of Christians.

Any Jew who objects to paying tribute is threatened with punishment which includes loss of half his estate and forced conversion into Christianity. Shakespeare, among his many borrowings, includes this idea for Shylock's penalty. The extremist, Marlowe, must go further, of course, in his tragedy, so he causes Barabas to lose, not half, but all his visible estate.

Next, the pawn of traditional misusage is told:

Fern. Yet, Barabas, we will not banish thee,
But here in Malta, where thou gotts't thy wealth,
Live still; and, if thou canst, get more.

Naturally, the noisy stage-Jew does not submit in silence:

Barabas. Some Jews are wicked, as all Christians...¹
You have my goods, my money, and my wealth..

1. These are among many instances of what Paul H. Kocher, (U. North Carolina) chooses to consider Marlow's criticism of Christianity: "...the plot chosen by Marlowe lends itself naturally to criticism of Christian life and principles..All such pronouncements declare, of course, one-sidedly against the Jews...Ferneze is the voice of Christianity..The voice, however, is a most apathetic one, through which sounds always the sardonic laughter of Barabas, irrepressible, triumphant...It would be naive to suppose,

And now shall move you to bereave my life..
 Why I esteem the injury far less,
 To take the lives of miserable men...
 Earth's barrenness, and all men's hatred,
 Inflict upon them, thou great Primus Motor!
 And here upon my knees, striking the earth,
 I ban their souls to everlasting pains,...

Thus the Jew is made to appear a noisy, complaining, blasphemous creature who loves wealth better than his own life-- or better than the soul of any Christian. Act One closes with a description of the beauty of the Jew's daughter. Her parentage does not render her objectionable, and two Christians fall desperately in love with her. This circumstance also is among the many borrowed by Shakespeare; but he allowed his Jessica only one lover.

In Act Two, Abigail proves a dutiful daughter in assisting Barabas to recover his wealth, and Elizabethan Marlowe allows a breath of humanity to escape his creature:

Barabas. O Abigail, Abigail, that I had thee here too!
 Then all my desires were fully satisfied...
 Farewell, my Joy, and by my fingers take
 A kiss from him that sends it from his soul.

But the audience probably considered it only evidence of more Jewish hypocrisy, for he caps his speech with,

My gold, my fortune, my felicity,...
 O girl, o gold, o beauty, o my bliss!

His cries are echoed by Shylock who screams too, for his daughter and his ducats.

...the Elizabethan spectator would side with Barabas in debate...
 Curse him; he's a Jew!"...
 Kocher, Paul H., CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE, Chapel Hill (1946), pp.
 120-130

A Machiavel and a Jew, Barabas is expected to seek revenge.

He does not disappoint his audience:

Barabas. In spite of these swine-eating Christians,...
 Am I become as wealthy as I was.
 They hop'd my daughter would ha' been a nun;
 But she's at home, and I have bought a house..
 And there, in spite of Malta, will I dwell,
 Having Ferneze's hand; whose heart I'll have,
 Ay, and his son's too, or it shall go hard.
 I am not of the tribe of Levi, I,
 That can so soon forget an injury.
 We Jews can fawn like spaniels when we please;
 And when we grin we bite; yet are our looks
 As innocent and harmless as a lamb's.
 I learn'd in Florence how to kiss my hand,
 Heave up my shoulders when they call me dog,
 And duck as low as any bare-foot friar;
 Hoping to see them starve upon a stall,
 Or else be gather'd for in our synagogue,
 That, when the offering basin comes to me,
 Even for charity I may spit into 't.---

Evil, vengeful, spiteful, deceitful, malicious, he will
 dwell in a city where he is not wanted--"in spite of Malta."

Through his desire to marry Abigail, the love-smitten Lodovick plays into the hands of Barabas;

Bara. But now I must be gone to buy a slave¹
 Lod. And, Barabas, I'll bear thee company.

Obviously the Christian attitude did not preclude public association with Jews. Lodovick condescends to be seen walking with Barabas. He does not commit the error of showing any particular respect to the Jew, for he does not ask his permission to accompany him.

The slave Ithamore has been purchased at this point. He and his new master soon discover to each other their mutual claim to depravity. As Barabas lists the evil deeds of his career,

1. See quotation from Gracetz, page 44. The Jewish faith prohibits (forbids) slave-owning

Marlowe may be seen compiling a catalog of the many ghastly criminal acts--currently alleged at home and abroad, legendary, prejudicial, and otherwise--charged against the Jews. Principal among these are well-poisoning, royal intrigue and artful murders. This emphasis on a particular type of crimes seems to link the play with the case of Dr. Lopez.¹ In fact, a play at this time had little chance for success if it afforded neither a Jew or a poison-plot.

With his declaration to Ithamore, the character of Barabas rapidly disintegrates into the Machiavellian monster he was intended to be. However, there are two things to be declared slightly in his favor; He insists on his daughter's keeping her virtue, even though he is using her as a decoy in his plot for revenge, and he blasts Lodovick, who would marry a female member of a "despised race";

Barabas. Entertain Lodovick, the governor's son,
 Provided that you keep your maidenhead!
 With all the courtesy you can afford,
 Abigail, bid him welcome for my sake...
 It's no sin to deceive a Christian;
 For they themselves hold it a principle,
 Faith is not to be held with heretics;
 But all are heretics that are not Jews...

Kicher's interpretation of Marlowe's attitude toward Christianity--or any religion--appears justified by these lines. The Jew succeeds in damning himself further in the eyes of his audience.

1. See quotation from Graetz, page 44.

In Act Three, Abigail's words serve merely to emphasize what the audience already knows--what the dramatist judged to be, perhaps, the general opinion of all Jews:

Abigail. Hard-hearted father, unkind Barabas!...
 But thou wert set upon revenge,...
 And could'st not venge it but upon his son;
 Nor on his son but by Mathias' means;
 Nor on Mathias but by murdering me;
 But I perceive there is no love on earth,
 Pity in Jews, nor piety in Turks.--

The disintegration of Barabas continues with more poisons and counterplots. The dead continue to pile up in Act Four. Barabas, with the cruelty of a Tamburlaine, feels no sorrow at the murder of his own daughter. Again he is a merciless, cruel, vindictive devil:

Ithamore. Do you not sorrow at your daughter's death?
 Barabas. No, but I grieve because she liv'd so long
 An Hebrew born, and would become a Christian.

In the Elizabethan estimation, the Jewish faith must have been all that Barabas declared it in his speech to the Friars, whose destruction had not been accomplished according to plan:

Barabas. She has confess'd, and we are both undone,
 By bosom inmate! but I must dissemble.--
 (aside to Ithamore)

O holy friars, the burden of my sins
 Lie heavy on my soul! then, pary you, tell me,
 Is't not too late now to turn Christian?
 I have been zealous in the Jewish faith,
 Hard-hearted to the poor, a covetous wretch,
 That would for lucre's sake have sold my soul...

While in the company of Pilia-Vorza, Ithamore fails to recognize his master. His tales of the habits of Barabas may seem extremely ridiculous today, but there may have been Elizabethans--more than a few who actually believed them;

"'Tis a strange thing of that Jew, he lives upon pickled grasshoppers and sauced mushrooms...
He never put on clean shirt since he was circumcised."

The comic dialogue lapses into prose quite appropriately, during the love-making of Ithamore.

Act Four closes with a line which seems indicative of the general attitude toward Jews, as expressed by Marlowe:

Ithamore (to Pilia-Borza). To undo a Jew is charity, and not sin.

In Act Five, Barabas draws further vilification on the name of Jew. Littered corpses mark his bloody trail to destruction.

He is a fearful creature, says Ferneze:

"I always fear'd that Jew.
He is a faithless monster;...
O fatal day, to fall into the hands
Of such a traitor and unhallow'd Jew!
His sole obsession is profit-taking:"

"Fear'd," "faithless," "monster," "traitor," "unhallow'd," avaricious Jew, he is called, for the regalement of all Jew-baiters. He takes pride in boasting of his infamy:

Barabas. Thus loving neither, will I live with both,
Making a profit of my policy;
And he from whom my most advantage comes,
Shall be my friend.
This is the life we Jews are us'd to lead;

Marlowe was not one to show any favoritism to any religious sect, so his Barabas counters in the very next line:

"And reason too, for Christians do the like."

There is an amusing probability in this connection: While the Elizabethan applauded the dramatist for his hurling of

venomous darts at Barabas, he undoubtedly was often caught off-guard when the same shafts were vigorously cast his way.

Floundering in his own trap he begs in cowardly fashion for his life. Ferneze calls him "accursed Barabas, base Jew," and horribly he dies, screaming curses at "dam'd Christian dogs, and Turkish infidels."

Nearer the end of Act Five, Calymath hears that his Turks, too, have been destroyed. Ferneze continues the castigation of Jews almost to the very last speech:

Caly. O monstrous treason!
Fern. A Jew's courtesy.

The Jew of Malta appears to be an attack directed at Jews as well as Christians; but, even as Kocher¹ has stated, the many epithets and the picture of depravity "declare one-sidedly against the Jew." However, Marlowe's piece finally merges into an effort designed chiefly to entertain. This latter objective he accomplishes by means of the power of his dialogue, his poetry, and his general "pandering" to the public taste; through his use of stock-characters, and through the rousing melodrama, which, in the case of The Jew of Malta, narrowly escapes being farcical.

That Marlowe's treatment of the Jewish character is unsympathetic and degrading is seldom questioned as it is in the case of Shakespeare and Shylock. Apparently it is agreed that no picture of the Jew could be worse, for in Barabas the apex of depravity was reached. Any stage-Jew to follow was necessarily an improvement. The general opinion seems to be that Barabas

1. Kocher, Paul, Christopher Marlowe, p. 130

was a figure too ridiculous to out-live the current popularity of his early appearance, or to increase the public disfavor of the Jew over a period of years.

Barabas and Shylock served long as models for other Jewish characters in the plays by Shakespeare's fellow dramatists. In The works of Shakespeare, as in Marlowe, there is only one Jewish character of prominence. However, there are several brief references to Jews in six of Shakespeare's other plays, which are worth mentioning before examining the work of his fellows:

Two Gentlemen of Verona, ii.3., presents Launcelot whose speech reveals that, at this time, the Jew has been given a lasting reputation for hard-heartedness.

Launcelot. ...a Jew would have wept to have seen our parting.
 ..If thou wilt go with me to the alehouse, so;
 if not thou art a Hebrew, a Jew and not worthy
 of the name of Christian

Speed: Why?

Launcelot: Because thou hast not so much charity in thee
 as to go to the ale with a Christian.

The import of Launcelot's words is that "Jew" is the worst insult he can administer.

Love's Labour's Lost, iii.1.

Costard: My sweet ounce of man's flesh! my inconvy Jew!

This is an uncomplimentary adieu from Costard to Moth, the tiny page, as Costard leaves to deliver Armado's letter.

A Midsummer Night's Dream iii.1.

Thisby (in the rehearsal, to Pyramus): Most brisk Juvenal and the most lovely Jew.

Landa¹ offers an interesting observation on this reference:

"It is curious that the one known incident of a Jewess exciting interest in England in Shakespeare's time was on an absolutely opposite character. Maria Nunes, who was among a number of crypto-Jews² fleeing from Spain and captured by the English, refused the hand of the English captain, a nobleman, who seized the prisoners. She desired to reach Holland, there to profess Judaism openly. Her beauty and romantic story created a great impression in London. She was befriended by Queen Elizabeth, who drove through the streets with her and enabled her to reach Holland. This was three years before the Lopez incident, and may have occasioned the 'most lovely Jew' phrase quoted from A Midsummer Night's Dream."

I Henry IV, ii.4.

Falstaff: You rogue, they were bound, every man of them; or I am a Jew else, an Ebrew Jew.

"Jew", as a by-word for the extreme of anything undesirable or unpleasant, is the usage here.

Much Ado About Nothing, ii.3.

Benedick: If I do not love her, I am a Jew.

"Jew" appears to have become synonymous with "liar."

Macbeth, iv.1.

Third Witch: ...Liver of Blaspheming Jew..

As the cauldron boils the Witch makes reference to the anti-Christian Jewish faith.³

1. Ibid., p. 83

2. Ibid., pp. 10, 20, 22, 26, 60, 71, 81, 83, 132, 195 (Especially p. 22): "In Spain, the Marannos, or crypto-Jews, were compelled to live double lives. Outwardly they were Christians; many occupied high positions--even in the Church. Even in England subterfuge was necessary for the few Jews who brave...expulsion..."

3. English Historical Review, v.IX, p.652: "blaspheming Jew", according to Professor Hale may refer to Joachim Gaunse.

Next, there follows a listing of contemporary plays concerned with Jewish characters and allusions:¹

Greene and Lodge--Raigne of Selimus (1594)

Of Abraham, and old poisoner, it is said:
"Bajazet hath with him a cunning Jew
Professing physicke; and so skill'd therein..."

Thomas Goffe--The Raging Turk (about 1589-90) contains a Jew, Dr. Hamon, and Jewish Monks.

Ben Jonson--Every Man in His Humour (1595) In this play Knowell reads a letter not at all complimentary to the memory of Jews and the old Jewry; references in i.2., and iii.2.

Ben Jonson--(or Lewis Machen) Every Woman in Her Humour (1608) iv.1. "You may hire a good suite at a Jewes, or at a broakers," attests to traditional Jewish convenience for business.

Ben Jonson--Every Man out of His Humour (1599). A character here speaks of "that saucy stubborn generation, the Jews." (v.4.)

Ben Jonson--The Alchemist (1610)

In ii.5., Ananias: "All's heathen but Hebrew," seems to be in praise of the Jewish faith.²

Ben Jonson--Bartholomew Fair (1614), Doll Common, in iv.3., refers to three famous Hebrew scholars, Kimchi, Abraham Ibn Ezre and Onkelos. This is further evidence to support the attitude of Ben Jonson as theorized in The Alchemist.

1. By no means exhaustive

2. Landa (The Jew in Drama) p. 88: "Jonson's tendency to change his religion more than once, and his learning, may have attracted him to Hebrew."

Ben Jonson--Volpone (1605) Of this play, Landa¹ makes the following comment: "In Volpone Jonson gives a different taste of his knowledge by the interesting mention of the Jews of Venice."

(iv.1.) "All took me for a citizen of Venice,
I knew the forms so well--
I had read Contarene, took me a house,
Dealt with my Jews, to furnish it with movables."

Thomas Dekker--The Honest Whore (1604)

In scene 6 there is this passage:

"To give those tears a relish, this I add,
You're like the Jews scattered, in no place certain,
Your days are tedious, your hours burdensome."

Dekker seems to reveal an attitude of pity with this association of "tears" and the sorrows of an outcast race.

Anonymous--Sir Gyles Goosecappe (1604) v.1. contains the very uncomplimentary allusion to Jews and Christianity:

"When thou comest in sight, if the sunne of thy beauty
doe not white me like a shippard's holland, I am a
Jew to my creator."

John Webster--The Duchess of Malfi (1616). In iii.2., an officer, speaking of one unable to see a pig, adds: "I thought your grace would find him a Jew." Again the word "Jew" is associated with the worst type of anything.

John Webster--Vittoria Corrombona or The White Devil (1607)

Landa² selects this passage:

Flamineo: Would I were a Jew
Marcello: O there are too many.

1. Ibid., p. 89

2. Ibid., p. 90

Flamimeo: You are deceived; there are not Jews enough,
Priests enough, nor gentlemen enough.

Marcello: How?

Flamimeo: I'll prove it, for if there be Jews enough,
So many Christians would not turn usurers.

By this character from Webster it appears that Shakespeare was not alone in his attack on Christian usurers.

John Marston--Jacke Drum's Entertainment (1601) contains a repetition of much of the slander ordinarily directed at usurers. Mammon is the name of the Jew in this case.

John Marston--The Malcontent (1604) In iii.1., there is further vilification: "Elder of Israel, thou honest defect of wicked nature and obstinate ignorance. In v.2., a tribute is paid to the skill of Lopez:

Mendoza: Canst thou impoyson?

Malevole: Excellently--no Jew, pothecary, or polititian better.

John Day--George Wilkins and William Rowley--The Travels of Three English Brothers (1607), contains the character Zariph whom Landa¹ refers to as a "foul-mouthed" Shylock."

John Marston--The Insatiate Countess (1613) is a play which Marston left incomplete. It contains Mizaldus, meant to be a Jew.

Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher--The Scornful Lady (1616), in ii.2., refer to the Jewish nation in an uncomplimentary sense: "...They are in tribes, like Jews." In iii.1., "Jew" and "usurer" are used synonymously, and the widow cautions against miscegenation: "Marry in your Own tribe, Jew," says she to the usurer, Morecraft.

1. Ibid., p. 92

An observation which bears a significance of importance has been reserved for the conclusion of this chapter. It is concerned with a statement made earlier in this work, that not only do the characters, dialogue and incident of a play reveal customs, morals, manners and attitudes, but, in some instances, the trend of the times--the historical period--is represented in various phases of the drama. This appears to be true with The Merchant of Venice, and much of the material already set forth in this chapter is intended to bear out that idea.

Harrison¹ published information from Henslowe's Diary in his Journals from 1591-1603. During that period, The Jew of Malta is recorded as having been presented at the Rose Theatre twenty-eight times. The period especially noted by Harrison is that from 1592 till 1594, inclusive. During the years, 1592-1593 there were only thirteen performances recorded, but in 1594, the year of Lopez's trial and execution, there were in that year alone, fifteen performances. On August 31, little more than two months after the execution, The Venetian Comedy (The Merchant of Venice) appeared. At this time, Henslowe records at least twenty other plays concerned with Jews. In that same year, at the same Rose theatre, Shakespeare's comedy played eight times, and The Jew of Malta faded out of the public sight. Harrison mentions no performances recorded of either play after that year, and it is certain that neither Marlowe's nor Shakespeare's play ever again enjoyed the popularity of that year.

1. Harrison, G. B., The Elizabethan Journals

Various noteworthy interpretations and criticism of Shakespeare in Shylock are collected in summary by E. E. Stoll.¹ Stoll himself holds to the idea that Shylock was neither heroic nor pathetic, but merely a grotesque, comic villain and a butt-- whose risibility was simple and immediate for the Elizabethans as it might be for moderns if the latter had only learned the psychology of race-hatred through reading Professor Sumner's² theory of the mores.

"His beard was red; his face was made
Not much unlike a witches;
His habit was a Jewish gown,
That would defend all weather;
His chin turned up, his nose hung down,
And both ends met together.

"So Shylock was made up, according to the report of the old actor Thomas Jordan in 1664, on a stage that still swayed by the tradition of Alleyn and Burbage. Macklin kept all this--nose and chin enough he had of his own--when, in the forties of the eighteenth century, he restored to the stage 'the Jew that Shakespeare drew'; and he ventured a red hat in early Venetian style for the old 'orange-tawney', into the bargain. 'By Jove! Shylock in a black wig! exclaimed a first-rater as Kean, seventy years after, appeared in the wings of Drury Lane for his first performance. And the part was played by Sir Henry Irving, in our day, in a grey beard and black cap. Changes in costume (on the stage at least) are but the outward and visible tokens of change. Macklin's grotesque ferocity gave place to Kean's vast and varied passion; and it, in turn, to Macready's and Irving's Hebraic picturesqueness and pathos. Taste had changed; and racial antipathy, in art if not in life, had faded away. Macklin, in an age when a part must be either comic or tragic, and no longer both together, dropped the butt and kept the villain; and this he played with such effect that the audience visibly shrank from him, and during the play and after it, King George II lost sleep. Kean made the Jew an injured human being, an outraged father. And Macready and Irving lifted him, in the words of Edmund Booth, 'out of the darkness of his native element of revengeful selfishness into the light of the venerable Hebrew, the martyr, the avenger.'

1. Stoll, E. E., Shakespeare Studies, pp. 255-257

2. Ibid., p. 302

With this movement criticism has kept pace, or has gone before. Macklin's conception is in sympathy with Rowe's; Kean's with Hazlitt's and Slottowe's; and Macready and Irving take the great company of the later critics with them in their notions of racial pathos, and despite the declarations of a Spedding, a Furnivall, and a Furness, in their plea for toleration. Few critics have recognized the prejudices of the times, the manifest indications of the poet's purpose, and his thoroughly Elizabethan taste for comic villainy. The few are mostly foreigners--Brandes, Brandl, Creizenach, Morsbach, and Sarcey. Others take account of this point of view only to gainsay it. 'We breathe a sigh of relief,' says the New York Nation (as if the worst were over) in a review of Professor Baker's book on Shakespeare, 'when we found him confessing his belief that Shakespeare did not intend Shylock to be a comic character'; and the distinguished critics Professors Bradley and Raleigh may be supposed to have done the same. As much as fifteen years ago Professor Wendell expressed the opinion, which Professor Matthews has of late reasserted, that Shylock was rightly represented on the stage in Shakespeare's time as a comic character, and rightly in our time as sympathetically human; but the dramatist's intention he left in the dark. Undertaking, perhaps, to abolish this antinomy and to bridge the gap between Shakespeare's time and ours, Professor Shelling perceives in Shylock, quite subtly, a grotesqueness bordering on laughter and a pathos bordering on tears."

It is fairly safe to make the following conclusions, in view of this evidence:

Shakespeare's Shylock displaced Barabas because of the finer characterization of a human Jew of power.

Shylock revealed the injustice of Christian persecution and prejudice in regard to usury which no longer was practised by Jews but by the greedy, ruthless English usurers.

In failing to punish Shylock sufficiently in front of the English audience, Shakespeare made rather short the popularity of his character, for the Christians were made to appear worse than the Jews, and it was not long before even the stupid apprentice awoke to the realization that he was laughing at himself.

His presentation of a Jew better than Barabas (as a real person), though still evil enough to entice an audience to the theatre, seemed a defense of the innocence of Lopez. It is certain that Shylock did not at that time increase the ill-feeling against Lopez or against any one else.

With the growing influence of Puritanish enmity against Jews was decreasing very, very rapidly, and in 1614 there appeared a paper advocating their being allowed to return.¹

Shylock's gentle thrust at slavery may not have had any effect whatever. But The Acts of Privy Council for July 11 and 18, 1596², advocated the removal of blackamoors from the city. This antipathy to slavery grew until that institution was completely abolished in Britain and all its provinces in 1807. Perhaps none of Shakespeare's works had any influence nor "held the mirror" of their manners up before his fellows, but it is interesting to note changes in the taste of audiences after 1594, and the change in the attitude toward Jews as early as 1614.³

Surely Shylock is called "Jew," "dog," and "devil," over and over again. Antony called Brutus "an honorable man," over the dead body of his friend, Julius Caesar, too.

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1. Landa, M. J., The Jew in Drama, p. 88: "At this period the Authorised Version of The Bible was being prepared, and 1614 saw the first publication advocating the readmission of the Jews to England,..." (Leonard Busher's Religious Peace)
 2. A.P.C., July 11, 18, xxvi, 16; xxvi, 20.
 3. Evidence of significant changes in the attitude of the English toward Jews appears in the drama during the reigns of Dryden, Pope, and Johnson, and on throughout the nineteenth century, but that material has no place in this section of the present analysis which is concerned, primarily, with the drama from 1588 to 1617.

In consideration of the thousands of Jews now residing in pleasant, prosperous security in England,¹ perhaps Lopez's life was not spent in vain.

1. Russell, C., and Lewis, H. S., The Jew in London (1900)
They state that the Jewish population in London in 1900 was 110,000.

CHAPTER II

The Elizabethan Attitude of Disdain for the Irish Reflected in Drama

The Elizabethan attitude of disdain for the Irish is reflected in the drama of the period. The Irish are portrayed as a savage and uncivilized people, with a culture that is inferior to that of the English. This attitude is reflected in the way the Irish are depicted in the plays, as well as in the way they are treated by the English characters. The Irish are often shown as being in a state of conflict with the English, and as being the cause of many of the problems that the English face. This attitude of disdain for the Irish is a reflection of the English view of the Irish as a people who are not capable of civilization and who are therefore deserving of the English's contempt.

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Ordinarily, the belief might prevail that it was the Jew whom Elizabethans held in utter contempt. He was spit upon and cursed in the drama. His manners, habits, and his appearance were sources of great amusement to a populace which had inherited the love of jew-baiting. As pawns of noblemen, as fair game for scheming merchants, and as butts for the sadistic humour of crude, boorish pranksters, Jews seem to fit well into a category where general opinion has so often placed them.

But there are many other aspects to be considered in the matter of attitudes toward Jews before they may be classified as a race entirely despicable in the eyes of Elizabethans. These other "aspects" were revealed in the drama through the analysis presented in the final section of Chapter II, preceding: There were few Jews in England to despise; the English nobles and the lower classes feared an alliance of Jewish wealth and royal authority; greedy bourgeois merchants could not compete successfully with allied, clannish Jews; Jewish success in trade, thrift, and generally moral living, incited jealousy; their stubbornness in remaining non-Christian drew the enmity of the Church. Fear, hatred, respect--in this case never admitted, of course--and envy are seldom associated with pure disdain or contempt. Never did the almost legendary Jew fall quite so low in the scale of Elizabethan opinion. That place was uniquely reserved for a neighbor near at hand, the Irish;

The Elizabethan Englishman's attitude toward the Irish may best be accounted for by the history of the two countries in their relations with one another.

England, after 1066, continued attempts at the complete subjugation of Ireland, but through means of armed conquest rather than by any more subtle methods. In the resulting atmosphere of perpetual hostility, no general attitude of brotherly comradeship from either side could be expected ever to have existed. History seems to indicate a master-to-mutinous-subject attitude, with the English striving mightily to "civilize" the "Gaelic barbarians" across the western channel, and the stubborn Gaels resisting heartily--and successfully.

It appears that the one love the Irish had for the English lay in the fact that the latter furnished occasion for a fight with foreigners, thus breaking the monotony of their fighting among themselves. W. E. H. Lecky¹ states that this country was but partially conquered and never justly ruled, and that "The English power there remained like a spear-point embedded in a living body, inflaming all around it."

D. H. Montgomery lists the kings of the rising new English nation, from 1154 to 1399, and offers a brief summary of anglo-Irish history through the fifteenth century;²

1. Lecky, W. E. H., England in the XVIIIth Century, II, p. 102

2. Montgomery, D. H., English History, p. 83

"The population of Ireland at this time (1154) consisted mainly of descendants of the Celtic and other prehistoric races which inhabited Britain at the period of the Roman invasion. Later, the Danes formed some settlements in the vicinity of Dublin."

"The conquest of England by the Normans was practically a victory gained by one branch of a German race over another (Saxons, Normans, and Danes having originally sprung from the same Teutonic stock or from one closely akin to it, and the three soon mingled); but the partial conquest of Ireland by the English was a radically different thing. They and the Irish had really nothing in common. The latter refused to accept the feudal system, and continued to split up into savage tribes or clans under the rule of petty chiefs always at war with each other. The English established a Parliament in Ireland (1295); but its authority did not really extend beyond their colony. Later, many of the English colonists married Irish Women, and adopted Irish customs and the Irish language. This, of course, affected their Parliamentary legislation. In 1494 the Crown secured the passage of Poynings's Act; it put the English Council above the Irish Parliament. The measure was not favorable to peace, and Ireland remained, partly through the battles of the clans and partly through English aggression, in a state of unrest which prevented all true national growth."

Numerous rebellions in Ireland proved a very serious drain on the resources of the English on through the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Her redoubtable Robert Devreux, Earl of Essex, burnished the glory of England--and of Devreux--on foreign expeditions to Navarre, Cadiz, and the Azores, but the Irish campaign of 1599 proved his undoing. He too, as many others before him, failed to conquer the spirit of the Irish. He was recalled to England with his prestige irreparably damaged.

Sir D. Plunket Barton¹ links several periods of the history of rebellious Ireland with the historical plays of Shakespeare. Beginning with King John, he treats the historical background

1. Barton, Sir Dunbar Plunket, Links Between Ireland and Shakespeare

of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, and Henry VIII.

The older play, which was one of the sources of Shakespeare's King John,¹ was little more than a poorly disguised attack on the papacy, and as such intended to irritate all Irishmen. Shakespeare removes this element of invective and concentrates on the murder of Prince Arthur.²

As a boy, King John had been nominated by his father to be "King of Ireland," and he actually bore the title of "John, Lord of Ireland, son of the King of England." Neither his subjects nor anyone else exhibited any particular kind regard for him. In 1185 while he was still just a boy, he visited Ireland. In 1210 he returned to his island principality to wrest every fief of any value from its Irish chieftain. Only the Earl of Pembroke held out against him. Shakespeare omits any mention of this expedition, and there is no reference to the Magna Charta in King John. In signing this great document, the King is said to have been counseled by the most powerful of Irish barons, William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke.

Ireland is actually mentioned in two passages of the play as one of the five dominions to which the English Crown laid claim:

The French Ambassador represents Prince Arthur, who, he says,

..."Lays most lawful claim

To this fair island and the territories;

To Ireland, Poictiers, Anjou, Touraine and Maine."

(King John, i., 1, 11)

1. The principal source is in anonymous two-part play first printed in 1591 under the title, The Troublesome Reign of King John
2. Ibid., pp. 67-68. Barton comments: "The character of Arthur, his touching appeal to Hubert de Burgh to spare his eyes, and the lamentations of his noble-hearted mother, are so deeply permeated with pathos that they are believed to have been inspired by the passionate grief of the dramatist at the recent death of his only son."

This claim is repeated by the Dauphin: (ii.,1,152)

"England and Ireland, Anjou, Touraine, Maine,
In right of Arthur do I claim of thee."

The proud, imperialistic ring sounds the color-tone of the Elizabethan Age in the following passage spoken by Faulconbridge:

"This England never did, and never shall
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
...Nought shall make us rue,
If England itself remain but true."
(King John, v.,7,112)

Although neither scene nor incident is borrowed from the history of King John's relations with Ireland, three figures bearing names from Irish history appear in the *dramatis personae*. They are the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Bigod, and Hubert de Burgh.

King Richard II is next, in point of time. Between the time of King John and Richard II there is a period of at least one hundred and seventy years. The principal interest here is in the deposition of the king. The name, Mortimer, figures quite prominently in the play. The Mortimers were descendants of the Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant to Ireland for five years (1361-1366). He is to be held responsible for the enactment of the Statute of Kilkenny, of 1366. This was an Act of Parliament forbidding the English to intermarry with the Irish, to speak the Irish language, to receive Irish bards in their castles, or to ride after the Irish fashion. The law was, of course, not feasible. A later Mortimer, Lord Lieutenant Roger, led his subjects in flaunting the odious edict. His actions drew adverse criticism from both the Irish and the English, and he soon found himself involved in the suppression

of another Irish rebellion. Lord Roger was killed at Kelliston, County Carlow, in 1398. The time of his death marks the beginning of the period of Shakespeare's King Richard II, which takes up the thread of events at that point. The rebellion in Ireland called for another expedition. At the death of John of Gaunt, the King openly declared his intentions--his design upon the possessions of the banished Henry of Bolingbroke: (1,4,62)

"The lining of his coffers shall make coats
To deck our soldiers for these Irish wars."

Richard II set no precedent in his failure to conquer Ireland. However, his pride and prestige suffered tremendously. One motive for embarking on this ill-fated expedition was to avenge the death of the Earl of March.¹

King Henry IV introduces the immortal Falstaff. However, the Mortimers also share the limelight with him. Sir Edmund Mortimer is the "chivalrous, sentimental Anglo-Irishman."

In King Henry V there appears the only stage Irishman of Shakespeare. He is Captain Macmorrice who appears briefly.²

Macmorrice (or MacMaurice, or Mac Morrishe)³ was the family name of the Lords of Kerry. This family name appears frequently

1. Barton, Sir Dunbar P., pp. 80-81: "His pride was deeply involved in the suppression of Irish disorder...When he had been candidate for the Holy Roman Emperorship, one of the taunts which had been successfully thrown in his teeth had been his inability to reduce to obedience his rebellious vassals in Ireland."
2. The seventy-four lines specifically involving the Irishman, Macmorrice, may not be found in any of the three quarto editions of the play. These were published in 1600, 1602, and 1608, but not until the folio of 1623 was this part printed for the first time, and even in the 1623 folio, there is no Captain Macmorrice in the *dramatis personae*.
3. Detailed discussion of Macmorrice follows later.

and prominently in Irish history, and was well-known in England at the time of Shakespeare's writing.

King Henry VI is a trilogy. 1 King Henry VI contains names of three notable viceroys to Ireland--John Talbot, Edmund Mortimer, and Richard Plantaganet, Duke of York. 2 King Henry VI makes several allusions to this Richard Plantaganet, of the "White Rose" faction of the Great Civil War, and of his relations with Ireland. Edmund Mortimer's death in Ireland (1425) had left this nephew, Richard Plantaganet, the sole representative of the Mortimer claims to the throne. The Yorkist Richard objected to the sacrifice of any part of what he considered his rightful heritage: (2 Henry VI., i., 1, 225-230)

"So York must sit and fret and bite his tongue,
While his own lands are bargain'd for and sold,
Methinks the realm of England, France and Ireland,
Bear that proportion to my flesh and blood
As did the fatal brand Althea burn'd
Unto the Prince's heart of Calydon."

The rebellion in Ireland furnished the pretext for getting Richard out of the way of the new Queen's plans. The messenger brings the news: (Ib., iii., 1, 281-329)

"Great Lords, from Ireland am I come amain,
To signify that rebels there are up,
And put the Englishmen unto the sword;
Send succour, Lords. and stop the rage betime,
Before the wound to grow incurable;
For, being green, there is great hope of help."

This news elicits remarks which cannot be expected to be complimentary to the Irish under the circumstances. The Cardinal persuades York to accept the responsibility imposed by the emergency:

"My Lord of York, try what your fortune is,
The uncivil kernes of Ireland are in arms,
And temper clay with blood of Englishmen:

To Ireland will you lead a band of men,
Collected choicely, from each county some,
And try your hap against the Irishmen?"

York. "I will my Lord, so please His Majesty.

... ..

...within fourteen days
At Bristol I expect my soldiers;
For there I'll ship them all for Ireland."

York finally departs for Ireland (2 Henry VI). Fourteen months later, he reappears (*ibid.*, v.). During that time he has won the confidence of the Irish who are to join him later against the forces of the "Red Rose." He mentions a spy, Jack Cade, who has been left behind to stir up trouble in England in his stead: (*ibid.*, iv., 9, 23)

"Whiles I in Ireland nourish a mighty band,
I will stir up in England some black storm
Shall blow ten thousand souls to heaven or hell;

... ..

I have seduced a headstrong Kentishman,
Jack Cade of Ashford,
To make commotion, as full well he can,
Under the title of John Mortimer.
In Ireland I have seen this stubborn Cade
Oppose himself against a troop or hernes,
And fought so long, till that his thighs with darts
Were almost like a sharp-quilled porcupine;

... ..

Full often, like a shaghaired crafty kerne,
Hath he conversed with the enemy,
And undiscover'd come to me again,
And given me notice of their villainies.
This devil here shall be my substitute;
For that John Mortimer, which now is dead
In face, in gait, in speech, he doth resemble:

... ..

So that he thrive, as 'tis great like he will,
Why, then from Ireland come I with my strength,
And reap the harvest which that rascal sowed."

Barton censures Shakespeare at this point for taking too many liberties with history:¹

"He discarded Holinshed,² and borrowed from the pages of John Stow³ a more lively account which that chronicler gave of the sayings and doings of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw in the Reign of King Richard II."

Cade was killed in July, and his rebellion was suppressed (1450). York returned to England in September with an army of Irish behind him. Shakespeare's messenger reports to the King:
(2 Henry VI., iv., 9, 23)

"Please it, your Grace, to be advertised
The Duke of York is newly come from Ireland,
And with a puissant and mighty power
Of gallowglasses and stout kernes
Is marching hitherward in porud array."

King Richard III is next in line, historically. In this play the chief interest, as far as the Irish are concerned, is in Shakespeare's reference to an Irish bard. Shortly after he has procured a murderer for the princes in the Tower, Richard is seen in conversation with Buckingham and Lord Stanley. (iv., 2, 106-110):

"When last I was in Exeter,
The Mayor in courtesy showed me the castle,
And call'd it Rougemont: at which name I started,
Because a bard of Ireland told me once
I should not live long after I saw Richmond."

With these words by the king, Shakespeare elevates the Irish "Sorcerer" to the dignity of "Prophet."

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1. Barton, Sir Dunbar Plunket, Ireland and Shakespeare, p. 149
 2. Holinshed, Raphael, Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland
 3. Stow, John, Summarie of Englysh Chronicles (1561)

King Henry VIII contains two allusions to Ireland in an event which occurred in 1520. This event was the appointment of the Earl of Surrey and the removal of Gerald Fitzgerald as Lord Deputy of Ireland. Sir Dunbar explains the incident; the major circumstances of his loosely connected explanation appear in summary:¹

The Great Earl FitzGerald, hardy follower of Henry VIII, and ruler of Ireland, was killed. His son, Gerald, who succeeded him fell prey to the machinations of Cardinal Wolsey who sought his position in Ireland as a means of shifting the Earl of Surrey out of the way of his own ambitions.² Surrey and Kildare eventually triumph and Wolsey sinks from favor into disgrace. In Ireland, Kildare (Gerald), of the house of Geraldine, continued the ancient feud of his house with the house of Butler. A daughter of Butler married Sir William Boleyn, whose son--more famous as the father of Anne Boleyn than for anything else--sought the rich Irish earldom of Ormonde. The feud was nearly ended when Sir Piers of Butler married the sister of Kildare. Pretty Anne Boleyn caught the fatal fancy of King Henry, who conferred the coveted estate upon Sir Thomas Boleyn, Anne's father. When the Boleyns passed from the favor of the king, the estate was finally placed in the hands of Sir Piers of Butler.

1. Barton, Sir D. P., Ireland and Shakespeare, Chapters XXXI, XXXII

2. At least this popular point of view was apparently shared by Shakespeare (ed. note).

Fortunes of the Kildare¹ deterioriated rapidly under the guidance of "Silken Thomas" of Geraldine, while Butler continued to rise to new heights.

*** *** ***

Ireland under Elizabeth was still unmanageable. In Shakespeare's King Henry V (v., Prologue, 29) there appears what is generally accepted as an allusion to Essex's unsuccessful expedition in the same year of the play:

Chorus. Were now the general of our gracious Empress,
As in good time he may, from Ireland coming,
Bringing Rebellion broached upon his sword,
How many would the peaceful city quit,
To welcome him!

Essex with Southampton made a feeble, quixotic attempt at revolt against Elizabeth. This attempt resulted only in the execution of Essex and the brief imprisonment of Southampton.

Thus the historical picture is fairly complete, revealing the Irish nobility as pawns for the English, and Irish pesantry the victims of the exploitation of both Irish and English noble classes. Ireland could only be impoverished by the constantly feuding of the barons, and the English wars. That country was generally looked upon as a place of banishment by the English, whose resentment seemed to be based primarily on the fact that the Irish had the temerity to resist their cultural advances. For any adventurous, curious Irishman who cared to visit England, there was

1. The daughter of Kildare was the lovely Lady Elizabeth FitzGerald whose beauty was celebrated by Surrey in his sonnet to "Geraldine." The Surrey of poetic fame was a son of the Earl who replaced Kildare, for a time, as Lord Deputy of Ireland. That sonnet was certainly a compliment to Irish womanhood (noble). Two lines of it serve to illustrate:

"Foster'd she was with milke of Irish breast.
Her sire an earle; her dame of prince's blood;"

much to attract him. Large numbers of such persons crossed the Irish Channel as visitors, soldiers, laborers, prisoners, diplomats, artisans, and even as slaves. Historical incidents already mentioned herein at length should have indicated what treatment these immigrants must have received at the hands of the English.

There are records--considered authentic--which reveal the attitude toward Irishmen as well as any mere, cold, historical account should be expected to. Harrison's Journals is one such source:

An entry for the date, August 7, 1592, reads:¹ "Certain able-bodied Irishmen, masterless men, that for a long time now frequent the City and suburbs begging, are to be despatched to Ireland and set to work by Mr. William English, that complains that by reason of his long imprisonment in England his tenants and followers have left his lands and possessions waste and unpeopled."

The indistinct outline of a greater "Britain" grows stronger and "England" begins to fade in this next entry (1590):²

"...the Lord Deputy had taken Hugh Roe MacMahon, a great lord of the territory of Monaghan, and hanged him;...Hugh Gairlock accused the Earl of Tyrone of having secret conference with some Spaniards...Brian O'Rourke took arms against the Queen...put to flight by Sir Richard Brougham, fled into Scotland, and was by the Scottish King delivered into the Queen's hands..."

In addition to the beggar and the baron, of course there was the Irish soldier who came to England. Barton's³ account of a group of this type is not unpleasantly tinged with romanticism:

"It was about the time of the production of these historical plays that Grania O'Malley came to London from Connaught, and brought with her a retinue of wild Westerners. Thirty years

1. Harrison, G. B., Elizabethan Journals, v.I, p.150

2. Ibid., v.I, p.3

3. Barton, Sir D. P., Ireland and Shakespeare, p.157

had passed since Shane O'Neil had created a sensation in the capital, when he visited the Queen attended by a company of gallowglasses, who marched through the streets with their long fair hair falling on their broad shoulders, with cloaks of wolf-skin or frieze thrown over their wide-sleeved saffron shirts, and with their short broad battle-axes in their hands."

"It is evident that a deep impression was created upon the Londoners by the wild flowing locks of the Irish soldiers who came in the train of these Irish chieftains, as well as by their rough forelocks, 'which,' says Stanyhurst, 'they call glibs, and the same they nourish with all their cunning.' It was on account of their unkempt hair and their glibs that Shakespeare refers to the Irish Kernes in several places as 'rug-headed' or 'shag-haired.'"

*** *** ***

The interpretation of Anglo-Irish relations through means of evidence contained in Elizabethan drama was begun earlier in this chapter with an examination of the background of Shakespeare's historical plays. At this point, the analysis of Elizabethan attitudes as reflected in particular dramatic pieces should continue along this route.

Some allusions to Ireland and the Irish are complimentary:

Hamlet's Ghost speaks: (i.,5,9) "I am thy father's spirit."
Hamlet, the son speaks, swearing by Saint Patrick (i.,5,136):
"Yes, by Saint Patrick!"

The Ghost mentions the place of purification whence he comes, which is Purgatory,¹ at least in the general sense of that term. Since Hamlet swears by Saint Patrick, the Patron Saint of the Irish, it may be considered likely that Shakespeare and his fellows shared the Irish reverence of this holy personage. Hamlet speaks not facetiously, it seems; this may be evidence of a minor point of Anglo-Irish religious agreement.

1. Saint Patrick's Purgatory in Lough Derg, County Donegal, was one of the most famous shrines of Europe. People were attracted to it in large numbers, from the twelfth to the seventeenth century, from all parts of Europe.

King Richard III¹ lends credence and dignity to the words of an Irish soothsayer, and there is a note of respect or awe in the tone of his words:

"...at which name I started
Because a bard of Ireland told me once,
I should not live long after I saw Richmond."

Agamemnon says to Hector, in Shakespeares Troilus and Cressida (iv.,5,169): "But in this extant moment, faith and troth,"

The adoption of the expression, "faith and troth,"--of very common Irish usage--is not uncomplimentary to the Irish in such instances as this.

Gower praises Macmorris in King Henry V, (iii.,2,70-74) although Fluellen disagrees with him in part:

"The Duke of Gloucester, to whom the order of the siege is given, is altogether directed by an Irishman, a very valiant gentleman, i'faith."

In 2King Henry VI (iv.,9,24) the Irish make an impressive army which York may have been proud to lead.

1. Shakespeare's King Richard III, lv., 2, 106-110.

2. Barton, Sir D. P., Ireland and Shakespeare, pp. 156-157:

Barton quotes and comments--(His interests led him to seek a portrait of Irishmen in Yorks' army. The nearest he came to finding what he sought was a description by Sir Anthony Leger in a letter to King Henry VIII. The letter is dated from Maynooth, April 6, 1543).

"St. Leger's portraiture of the Irish soldiers of his day deserves to be better known..Of the Irish cavalry he says that for 'light scouring,' which was their peculiar style of fighting, 'there are no properer horsemen in christian grounde, nor none more hardie, nor yet than can better indure haednesse.' He tells us that everyone of them had three nags, either 'a horse and two hackneys, or two horses and a hackney,' with two boys to look after them. It is evident that the Irish cavalry comprised men of some substance and station. The infantry were

There is much more on the uncomplimentary side.

An English gentleman speaks to four Irish clowns in The Irish Masque at Court, by Ben Jonson: (line 150)

"He may be of your rudeness,
Hold your tongues.
And let your courser manners seeke some place...
Fit for their wildnesse. This is none, begone!"

The English who shared the attitude of Ben Jonson's Gentleman found it difficult to tolerate the lack of manners, the indecency, and the ignorant buffoonery exhibited by Irish immigrants.

Agripyne, daughter of the king in Dekker's Old Fortunatus, states what might be considered an opinion of the English (iv.,2):

"...These Irishmen,
Some say are great dissemblers, and I fear,
These two the badge of their own country wear."

Malcolm and Donalbain speak in Macbeth (iii.3,143), and Barton comments:¹

Malcolm. I'll to England.
Donalbain. To Ireland, I;

"Dr. Forman, an Elizabethan playgoer, has given in his diary a description of the plot of the play of Macbeth, which he saw at the Globe Theatre on the 20th April, 1610. When he comes to the flight of Duncan's two sons he tells us that they fled, 'the one to England, and the other to Wales, to save themselves.' Why was the name of Wales substituted for that of Ireland in the acting of the piece? Can it have been that the troubles, which were pending in Ireland in 1610, made it inexpedient to mention the name of that country to a London audience?"

or two sorts. First there were the gallowglasses, who carried battleaxes and wore mail-armour and small steel helmets, which were called basinets. They were men of some account, for most of them were attended by boys carrying three darts apiece, which were thrown at close quarters. The other kind of infantry were the kernes, who were unarmoured and lightly clad, carrying darts and short bows and arrows...daring and active in the search of woods and marshes..."

1. Barton, Sir D. P., Ireland and Shakespeare, p.5

In The Merry Wives of Windsor (ii.,2) the jealous Ford speaks his mind--and possibly that of his audience:

"I will rather trust a Fleming with my butter...an Irishman with my aquae-vitae bottle, or a thief to walk my ambling gelding, than my wife with herself."

The reputation for having a craving for strong Irish Whiskey may not have been considered entirely "uncomplimentary" by the Elizabethans.

Further disparagement is furnished by 2 King Henry VI (iii., line 310):

Cardinal Beaufort. The uncivil kerns of Ireland are in Arms
York. (speaking of his henchman, Cade) Full often,
like a shag-hair'd crafty kern,...

In the estimation of these stage Englishmen, the common Irishman was an unkempt, bushy-haired, cunning, uncivilized creature.

In spite of Gower's praise, Fluellen speaks not well of Macmorrice, his fellow officer (King Henry V.,iii.,2,74-79):

"By Cheshu, he is an ass, as in the world: I will verify as much in his beard: he has no more directions in the true disciplines of wars, look you, of the Roman disciplines, than is a puppy-dog."

The Elizabethan stage Irishmen¹ are, of course, Englishmen

1. Maurice Bourgeois presents a composite picture of the stage Irishman, in his John M. Synge, and the Irish Theatre, pp.109-10

"The stage Irishman habitually bears the generic name of Pat, Paddy or Teague. He has an atrocious Irish brogue, makes perpetual jokes, blunders and bulls in speaking, and never fails to utter, by way of Hibernian seasoning, some wild screech or oath of Gaelic origin at every third word; he has an unsurpassable gift of 'blarney' and cadges for tips and free drinks. His hair is of fiery red; he is rosy-cheeked, massive and whisky-loving. His face is one of simian bestiality, with an expression

dressed to interpret the parts from the Elizabethan point of view. The characters reveal at least something of the attitude of the audience they seek to please:

MacMorris is both a credit and a discredit to his nation, in Shakespeare's King Henry V, (iii.,2):

Fluellen. Captain Macmorris, I beseech you now, will you voutsafe me, look you, a few disputations with you as partly touching or concerning the disciplines of the war,...

Macmorris. It is no time to discourse, so Chrish save me; the day is hot, and the weather, and the wars, and the king, and the dukes; it is no time to discourse. The town is beseeched, and the trumpet call us to the breach; and we talk...and there is throats to be cut...

Captain Fluellen unwittingly makes the error--incidentally--of referring to the Irish nation, thereby endangering his welfare, for the Irish temper flares forth:

Macmorris. Of my nation! What ish my nation? Ish a villain, and a bastard, and a knave, and a rascal--What ish my nation? Who talks of my nation?

All efforts to placate him fail; the calm Fluellen says:

"Look you, if you take the matter otherwise than is meant, ...I shall think you do not use me with that affability as in discretion you ought to use me, look you; being as good a man as yourself, both in the disciplines of war, and in the derivation of my birth,..."

of diabolical archness written all over it. He wears a tall felt hat (billicock of wideawake) with a cutty clay pipe stuck in front, an open shirt-collar, a three-caped coat, knee breeches, worsted stockings cockaded brogue-shoes. In his right hand he brandishes a stout blackthorn or a sprig of shillelagh, and threatens to belabour therewith the daring person who will tread on the tails of his coat. For his main characteristics (if there is any such thing as psychology in the stage Irishman) are his swagger, his boisterousness and his pugnacity. He is always ready with a challenge, always anxious to pick a quarrel; and peerless for cracking skulls at Donnybrook fair.

McMorris's reply is scorching:

"I do not know you so good a man as myself: so Chrish save me, I will cut off your head."

Thus he refuses Fluellen's offer to participate in a quiet, instructive discussion, and offers no apology for the rudeness of his part. The mutilated English can hardly be interpreted as being other than ridicule. Every Elizabethan stage Irishman may be identified by this dialect.

"This preposterously funny conception of the Irish character, which has done duty for centuries on the English, American, and even Irish stage, is not altogether a fictitious convention...The burlesquing of a national character is a permissible form of entertainment. There is a stage John Bull in the Parisian theatres, just as there are stage Frenchmen in London musical comedies. Yet nobody takes offence, and the French accent in the stage Frenchman's English is inimitably funny to a French hearer."

"However, of late years, the Irish people have begun to express violent aversion to the traditional Teague...The common-place Hibernian character are certainly over-accentuated. Its brutal and more odious aspect is brought into undue prominence; its gentle, sentimental and melancholy side is almost entirely overlooked... Irish life is reduced to a huge whiskified joke. And the portrait is taken exception to all the more keenly as the Irish, like all unhappy nations, have grown extremely sensitive and 'touchy' about their racial characteristics. (He quotes from W. B. Yeats, ap. Current Literature, N. Y., Dec. 1911, p.676) 'For centuries the Irish have been politically overwhelmed by the English, and the Jews have been persecuted by almost every other nation. It is only natural that both should be sensitive. But if Ireland is to have a literature the Irish must allow themselves to be dealt with as freely as any other nation in the world.' Add to this that Ireland, a nation in the making, cannot afford to be publicly misrepresented on the stage--a thing which the strong, independent nations like France or England can easily tolerate.

"In brief, the stage Irishman has been banned simply because Ireland has at last awakened to a sense of her ethnical dignity, to patriotic self-consciousness"

(Ed. note: This passage from Bourgeois is the basis for further discussion in the final chapter of this work)

Ben Jonson offers four clownish Irish "gentlemen" in *The Irish Masque* at Court. All of them speak--Dennise, Donnell, Dermock and Patrick--but their Anglo-Irish jargon is almost unintelligible to many readers at least. Perhaps the Elizabethans were able to understand it. In the opening scene they run out to greet the English King. A part of their speech is fairly clear:

Pat. By chreesh shaue me, tow lyesht. I haue te vorsht
tongue in te company at ty sheruish. Will shome body shpeake?
Don. By my fait, I vill not.
Der. By my goships hant, I vill not.
Den. If I shpeake, te diuell tayke me. I vill giue tee
leauue to cram my mout phit shamrokes ant butter, ant vayter
creshes, in stead of pearsh ant peepsh.
Pat. If no body vill shpeake, I vill shpeake. Pleesh ty
shweet faish, vee come from Ireland.
Der. Vee be Irish men, and't pleash tee.
Don. Ty good shubshects of Ireland, an't pleash ty mayesty.

They are noisy, loutish, ignorant, stubborn, bashful (or backward), and incoherent.

Old Fortunatus is a play by Thomas Dekker which bears many of the characteristics of the old morality play, but certain additions give it a place in the late sixteenth century classification of drama. Among these additions there are two characters disguised as Irish coster-mongers. (iv.,2)

Since Andelocia is merely an Englishman in disguise, he cannot be expected to illustrate the English attitude from the Irish point of view. He speaks to the king's daughter as he represents the loquacious Irish apple-vender:

"By my trat, and by Saint Patrick's hand, and as Creez save me, no dissembler (the pretty one has intimated that all Irishmen are 'dissemblers')...de Irishman now and den cut di countryman's throat, but yet in fayt, he love di countryman,..."

In The New Inn, by Ben Jonson, The Lady Frampul disguises herself as an Irish woman by simply assuming an Irish accent, wearing dirty, ragged clothes, and by feigning blindness in one eye. Her disguise is so complete that she is not recognized by her own husband. She is accepted at the New Inn, and the attitude of her employers appears typical of Anglo-Irish relations on this level.

In the dramatis personae She is given the following description:

Prudence. Who keeps the watch?
 Host. Old Sheelinin here, is the Madame Tel-clocke...
 Nurse. No, fait and trot,
 Sweet Maister, I shall sleep; I' fait, I shall.
 Beaufort. I pr'y thee doe then, Scrich-Owle.
 She brings to mind the babble 'o the Dragon,
 That kept the Hesperian Fruit.

The Elizabethan attitude which appears in the drama coincides rather nicely with that which the historical analysis leads one to expect. Whether the English were justified in their ridicule of what they pictured to be the Irishman--an ignorant, courageous, uncivilized, comic brute--is a matter for concern elsewhere. Their treatment of him seems represented especially in the characters of Macmorris and the disguised Lady Frampul. In each case, the character appears to be a rather ignorant servant of Englishmen. There was no deep hatred evidenced either in drama or in history, but rather an attitude of disdain. The Irish were no menace such as the black threat of "hybridization" (see chapter on Black Folks in England), nor did any Irishmen, at home or abroad, offer serious competition to the omnipotent deity of English Commerce, as did the

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jews (see chapter, Jews in Elizabethan England); consequently, there could never be deep hatred on the part of the English for the aliens from across the western channel.

THE TOLERANT ATTITUDE TOWARD FOREIGNERS REFLECTED IN ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

CHAPTER IV

The Tolerant Attitude toward Foreigners Reflected in Elizabethan Drama

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The Tolerant Attitude toward Foreigners
Reflected in Elizabethan Drama

There are critics who maintain that no alien group was ever accepted favorably in sixteenth century England.¹ This cannot be accepted as a logical contention, for it is too broad. There are many indications that human nature basically has not changed over the years--that there are liberals as well as narrow-minded radicals in every phase of civilized living, now as always. Elizabethan drama, especially during the time of Shakespeare's writing, reflects the existence of kindness as well as cruelty, culture as well as barbarity. Not only were there alien groups which were hated, but some foreigners were accepted with toleration, and some were actually, openly admired. Toleration implies a negative sense of acceptance. The varying attitudes toward alien races examined in this chapter are arranged according to degrees of kindness in toleration. The arbitrary order of arrangement is: Indians, Gypsies, Dutch, Scotch, and Welsh. The first two mentioned are of minor importance as far as the drama is concerned.

1. Indians

"Indian" was a name misapplied to the inhabitants of the West Indies by Columbus. Elizabethans continued to use the term with reference to the natives of North America, the East and West

1. Among these critics are E. E. Stoll and S. A. Tannenbaum

Indies. Stoke's¹ elaboration of the real distinction lends to further clarity:

"'The East Indies was practically identified with India'; 'the West Indies' meant not only the islands now so called, but the adjacent mainland of America, Columbus having supposed that he had reached the Eastern coast of Asia."

He defines Indian as "an inhabitant of India, or of the Indies, and "Inde" as the "poetical form of 'India.'"

There may have been natives from the Far East brought to England by explorers like Drake and Hawkins, but it is difficult to find records which mention specifically this race of aliens. One writer states that "the name of 'Indian' was rather loosely applied in Shakespeare's time to people living in the region from the Euphrates to the Nile."² In spite of the various and widely separated lands where natives may have been known as "Indians," the dramatists make their allusions and occasional Indian-like characters sufficiently distinct in their different characteristics. Principal interest here must center upon the particular alien Indian whom the Elizabethans must have known, which is the American Indian.

There are records which make it fairly certain that quite an appreciable number of American Indians were brought to sixteenth century England;

"American Indians were familiar to Londoners, Indians from Brazil (1580), Guiana (1595), Virginia (1584, 1605) and New England having visited England."³

1. Stokes, F. G., Shakespeare Dictionary, p. 164

2. The Shakespeare Ass'n Bulletin, January, 1944, i. XIX, p. 26

3. Shakespeare's England, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1916, p. 195

L. B. Wright makes casual mention of their presence:¹

"The (Elizabethan) citizen who had seen wild Indians, new plants, and strange beasts brought home from overseas was not inclined to be skeptical about the marvels of nature..."

An entry in Harrison's Journals² carries an account by Sir Walter Raleigh in which he praises the glorious new world westward, and mentions some of the inhabitants as "Amazons."

The different kinds of Indians appear in the drama. The following passages seem to indicate natives of the East:

While selecting the right casket, Bassanio speaks of the emptiness of ornamentation (The Merchant of Venice, iii.2):--

...the beauteous scarf
Veiling an Indian Beauty...³

Puck mentions an Indian king, in A Midsummer Night's Dream (ii.1,22):

A lovely boy, stolen from an Indian king...

And Titania asks of Oberon, as she travels abroad with her contingent of fairies (ii.1, 69):--

Why art thou here,
Come from the farthest steppe of India?

1. Wright, L. B., Middle Class Culture in Eliz. England, p. 571
2. Harrison, B. G., The Elizabethan Journals, p. 57
3. Clark and Wright (in the notes of the Globe Edition, Complete Works of Shakespeare, p. 1337) comment: "...it has been pointed out that Montaigne in his Essay on 'Beauty' says: 'The Indians describe it black and swarthy, with blabbered thick lips, with a broad and flat nose.' If Shakespeare gives us a reminiscence of this, he must have read Montaigne in French, as Florio's translation was not published until 1603."

This reference merely reveals further that any Elizabethan alien with dark skin was usually given negroid features. The 'beauty' aspect may be considered additional support for Fripp's declaration that the Dark Lady of the Sonnets was really a black beauty in the sense of this quotation from Clark and Wright. (See Chapter II, Section 5).

Stanley Wood¹ comments interestingly on these two passages from A Midsummer Night's Dream:

"Titania has often gossiped with 'her Indian boy' in the 'spiced Indian air.'...India formerly stood for the whole of the S. E. part of Asia and the islands of the Indian Archipelago. The fairies of the play seem to have been all natives of India."

Of the beautiful queen in Henry VIII (iv.1) the Second Gentleman states:

Sir, as I have a soul, she is an angel;
Our king has all the Indies in his arms,...
are

There/many instances which seem to indicate that the dramatists refer to the American Indian. Hudson² mentions several and sides with the American Indian theory;

First, there are the lines from Othello (v.2)--

Like the base Indian, threw a pearl away
Richer than all his tribe;...

Whether Shakespeare meant an allusion to any particular story of an Indian, or to the Indians as generally described, is not quite clear; probably, the latter. So in Drayton's Legend of Matilda: 'The wretched Indian spurnes the golden ore.'
Also in The Woman's Conquest, by Sir Edward Howard: 'Behold my queen, who with no more concern Ile cast away then Indians do a pearl, that ne'er did know its value.' And in Habington's Castara:

So the unskilfull Indian those bright gems,
Which might adde majestie to diadems,
'Mong the waves scatters.

1. Wood, Stanley, A Midsummer Night's Dream (edited by) , p. 132
2. Hudson, H. N., Othello (edited by), p. 192

Professor Kittredge¹ shares the opinion expressed by Hudson, but he comes out more definitely with his point of view, quoting illustrative passages from Drayton, Nashe and Chapman.

Thus it is evident that the attitude toward the American Indian must be the chief concern here, since it is he who appears most concretely in history and drama. That attitude is revealed quite clearly in the following passage--as well as a few lines from one single author may prove anything (Trinculo speaks of Caliban in the Tempest, ii.2):

"A strange fish! Were I in England now, as once I was, and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver: there would this monster make a man; any strange beast there makes a man: when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian. Legged like a man! and his fins like arms!"

An Indian was looked upon as a great curiosity, evidently. With John Smith's History of Virginia, and the story of Pocahontas (who may have died in England in 1617) the wife of John Rolfe, Indians were publicized enough to make them quite attractive as spectacles for "holiday fools" and others of the Elizabethans. Caliban may have been the result of a distorted, imaginary conception of an American Indian. Prospero's isle might easily have been one of the West Indies. The more fantastic Trinculo's description of Caliban, the more intriguing it probably appeared to his audience. As curiosities, natives of East or West Indies were welcome. They were tolerated because they were a harmless source of entertainment. "A rude and savage man of India" (Love's Labour's Lost, iv.3) was naturally far beneath

1. Kittredge, G. L., Lectures on Shakespeare, 1941

the station of the crude Elizabethan who loved to imagine himself quite a polished gentleman. It puffed his pride to be able to gaze condescendingly and curiously at such creatures.

2. Gypsies

Most numerous among the vagabonds of all races who roamed the streets of cities and plundered the countryside in Elizabethan England were the gypsies. Harrison has recorded their presence with several entries;¹

"25th September (1596). The rapines and thefts by rogues and vagabonds in the county of Somerset are greatly increased...The Egyptians that had been cut off by the law again spring up; but they are never so dangerous as wandering soldiers..."

"16th February (1601). At the Sessions two women, by name Joan Morgan and Anne Simpson, were found guilty of being seen and found in the society of vagabonds called Egyptians, and call themselves Egyptians. The former put herself guilty and pleaded her pregnancy, but being found not pregnant by a jury of matrons, she is condemned to be hung; the latter likewise pleading pregnancy was reprieved, it being found by the jury of matrons that she is pregnant."

The last account is significant in that it contains evidence of a native Englishwoman who claims to be Egyptian. A rather complete story of these Egyptians--or gypsies, as they really were--is told by A. V. Judges.² According to his account,

1. Harrison, G. B., The Elizabethan Journals, ii.p137; iii.p.155

2. Judges, A. V., The Elizabethan Underworld, pp. xxiv-xxvi

"Of a very different quality were 'the wretched, wily, wandering vagabonds calling themselves Egyptians, the effect of whose example upon true-born Englishmen the Tudor government was so anxious to check. They puzzled contemporaries even more than their successors puzzle us to-day. The early history of the gypsy race after the migration from India a thousand years ago has largely been reconstructed by the investigations of philologists...In 1419 gypsies were in France, in 1422 in Rome...We find that as early as 1530 Parliament begins to legislate with exceptional severity against gypsy vagrants as thieves and fortune-tellers. The Tudor legislators appear to have been troubled by the

these wandering rogues were generally well-accepted, more or less, because of their picturesqueness. One trait especially seems to have influenced a dubious welcome for the gypsies--the beauty of their women. The entry from Harrison just quoted seems to make the point fairly clear. The gypsy women were very pretty; the

existence of native-born men and women who pretended to be Gypsies and assumed the name and costume of the tribe. That the bands of Egyptians attracted to their ranks men and women of English race in any considerable numbers is to be doubted, although cases are on record...But was a gypsy of a new generation, born in England still an Egyptian? Technically, no. He was an Englishman. As such he may well have been able to avoid the penalties of the law."

"The attractiveness of these people in the eyes of the wonder-loving countryfolk was enhanced by the 'strangeness of their attire.' Dr. Angrew Borde, the first Englishman of letters to provide an informed discussion on their manners and language, wrote in 1547: 'The people of the country (Egypt) be swart and doth go disguised in their apparel contrary to other nations. They be light-fingered and use picking; they have little manner and evil lodging, and yet they be pleasant dancers.' They danced for the villagers in the clothes they habitually wore, dressed like princes of Egypt, with wonderful head-coverings embroidered in gold... Rich clothes and rags surmounted by a cloak worn toga-fashion hung about them in fantastic medley...Dekker, always equipped with curious information, describes the women as wearing 'rags and patched filthy mantles uppermost, when the undergarments are handsome and in fashion.' Trustworthy evidence as to their habits is hard to obtain. Neither Dekker nor Rid appears to have first-hand knowledge of the people he describes. That they were feared by the authorities there is ample evidence to show. Parliament passed savage acts with the object of annihilating their bands, country justices sent in anxious letters to the Council, and all over the country village constables and churchwardens gave sixpences and shillings to gypsy leaders to 'avoid the parish.' Can it be that these groups of vagrants were able to resist attempts to break them up because the common people had accepted them, foul-stealing and all, for the sake of their head-dresses and their dancing and their strange knowledge of good and evil?"

vagrant bands were mercenary; Elizabethans were quite vulnerable. These circumstances helped to assure a place in England for aliens of this race, at that time.

But to say that these gypsies enjoyed a fair reputation would be to misconstrue facts. Although Judges states that Dekker seems not to have had "first-hand knowledge of the people he describes," the very unromantic account which follows has the earmarks of authenticity. The reference serves a double purpose here because it treats with the matter of attitudes toward other aliens present in England at the time;¹ (Dekker's title is Moon-Men)

"They are a people more scattered then Jews, and more hated; beggarly in apparel, barbarous in condition, beastly in behavior, and bloody if they meet advantage. A man that sees them would swear that they had all the yellow jaundice, or that they were tawny Moors' bastards...Yet are they not born so, neither has the sun burnt them so, but they are painted so...By a by-name they are called gypsies; they call themselves Egyptians; others in mockery call them moon-men."

"If they be Egyptians, sure I am they never descended from the tribes of any of those people that came out of the land of Egypt...Look what difference there is between a civil citizen of Dublin and a wild Irish kern, so much difference there is between one of these counterfeit Egyptians and a true English beggar...these vagabonds have their harlots, with a number of little children following at their heels; ...One shire alone and no more is sure to have these Egyptian lice swarming within it...Their apparel is odd and fantastic...Whosoever falls into their hands never escapes alive...so cruel are they in these murders...The cabins where these land-pirates lodge in the night are the outbarns of farmers, their supping-parlours and their bedchambers... These barns are the beds of incests, whoredoms, adulteries..."

L. Thomas Dekker, "Lantern and Candlelight", The Elizabethan Underworld, compiled by A. V. Judges, pp. 344-347

There are allusions to gypsies in Elizabethan drama.

In A Midsummer Night's Dream (v.1,11),¹ there is the declaration of Theseus that the lover is "as frantic" as the madman in that he, "Sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt." This is a compliment to gypsy beauty.

Shakespeare's Cleopatra is a swarthy Egyptian, and the dramatist's description of her in his Antony and Cleopatra has helped to keep alive her legendary glory as one of the most beautiful women of all time. Beauty can hardly be denied to any race which can claim close kinship with the people who produced a Cleopatra.

The "Egyptian Bachanals" mentioned in Antony and Cleopatra (ii.6) was intended, perhaps, to bring to the Elizabethan a scene of gypsy dancing on the Thames rather than Egyptians on the Nile.

Othello reminds the audience of the gypsies' fortunetelling and their mystical powers (Othello, iii.4, 57-59):²

That handkerchief
Did an Egyptian to my mother give;
She was a charmer, and could almost read
The thoughts of people
The worms were hallow'd that did breed the silk;
And it was dyed in mummy which the skilful
Conserved of maiden's hearts. (iii.4, 74-76)

1. Stanley adds this comment to his note on the passage (edition of A Midsummer Night's Dream, v.1, 11, p.130):

"The word Gipsy is corrupted from Egyptian, for when gipsies appeared in Europe they declared that they were driven from Egypt by the Turks. Their original home was India."

2. Oscar J. Campbell in his edition of Othello, p. 317, note, states simply: "Egyptian; gypsy."

Apparently Shakespeare accepted the Elizabethan gypsies' story of Egyptian ancestry. His mention of the Egyptian method of embalming serves as indication. of this association.

Thus it seems that the drama reflects little of any particular antipathy to gypsies. There may be many other illustrative passages but they are not easy to find. The mystic, romantic, picturesque people may have impressed most of the dramatists quite favorably in the Age of Shakespeare, but apparently they were not of sufficient stature to be good material for drama; nor were they of sufficient political importance to attract the hostility of the Crown. They did not share quite the popular disdain which characterized the treatment of Irish aliens.¹ There was respect for their artistry in thieving and in dealing with the unknown.

1. Mention is made of the Irish in Judges' Elizabethan Under-World (p.496). The word "beggar" is used with reference to these aliens, invariably, and seems to have a more derogatory connotation than "vagabond," a word which may border on the side of the romantic;

"Irish beggars appear to have been as troublesome to the Tudor justice as they were to his successors at certain periods in the nineteenth century. References to them abound. In the beggars' act of 1572 special provision was made for their transportation at the cost of the county which first received them...Thirteen years later 'one of the chronic rebellions in Ireland swept a horde of them into Bridewell by way of Bristol.' The corporation thought 10 pounds well invested to get rid of them."

3. Dutchmen

In 1581 there were 1,364 aliens¹ attending regularly the Dutch church in London. This number was nearly half as large as the entire total of all the other alien church attendants combined. This large congregation did not include the Flemings (who were really more Dutch than anything else), nor the related Walloons nor the Germans, all of whom were present in sixteenth century England. The Flemings and Walloons were most famous as weavers, while the Dutch were skilled in many of the arts and crafts. Dutch tapestry-makers, shoemakers, potters, printers, and other types of artisans swarmed into England. William Boonen, a Dutchman, is credited with having introduced into the country the use of coaches, and he served as the Queen's own coachman.

When Protestant Elizabeth came to the throne, immigration rapidly increased. Hundreds of Dutch fled the Spanish Netherlands. Their industry and frugality aroused jealousy and enmity. The alien influx lowered wages, and created unemployment by introducing skilled workers with whom few native Englishmen could compete. As Spanish power was gradually reduced, the Dutch and English strength on the seas and at home increased. By 1620, the Dutch were able to dispute with the English for imperialistic supremacy even in the distant Indies. But that great rivalry was in its earliest infancy during the time of Queen Elizabeth. "Coming events cast their shadows before" in the account of an

1. Cunningham, W., Alien Immigrants in England, p. 150.

incident which Harrison has recorded;¹

"2nd October [1602]. On the 23rd of last month Sir Robert Mansell in the Hope with the Advantage which Captain Jones commanded and two other Dutch men of war encountered six Spanish galleys in the Channel and so battered them that four are sunk and wrecked, the fifth past doing the enemy service, and the sixth the enemy are forced to newbuild at Dunkirk. Nevertheless though Sir Robert bore the greater part of this action, yet to his great indignation the Dutchmen put it abroad that the whole glory of that service is theirs."

Dutch aliens, then, were disliked by the lower classes who saw themselves forced to give up jobs to foreigners--to persons who often were not required even to share any of the burdens of ordinary taxation. On the other hand, certain concerns were able to employ foreigners at lower rates, in spite of the guild system of control; master craftsmen from abroad could produce better goods, and so were greatly in demand. Royalty sought to make use of the foreigners for reasons of diplomacy as well as for simple convenience. Members of the nobility who felt none of the economic crowding of alien immigration were not hostile to the Dutch in England, but abroad on the high seas the rivalry had already begun in 1600.

There were certain popular opinions of the Dutch which were generally shared by most Englishmen. The hostility of certain classes, the indifference of the unaffected, the favor of the Crown, and the general opinions of Dutch aliens are reflected quite clearly in the drama.

1. Harrison, G. B., Elizabethan Journals, iii. p. 302

Plays revealing an attitude of hostility are mentioned by Albright;¹

Sir Thomas More (1595-6) was a vehicle of violent attack, featuring two dangerous topics--insurrection of tradesmen, and jealousy of aliens. Enmity was particularly directed at the French and the Dutch in this play. The authorities sought to protect the foreigners, and such a play which brought to the stage a riot scene by London apprentices was extremely unseasonable for peaceful relations at the moment. Consequently, the censor was authorized to cut out the undesirable lines. Many lines were deleted. From the first seventy-five lines, passages like the following were marked for omission:

"Lincoln. It is hard when Englishmens pacience must be ietted thus by strangers."

A Lombard insults the English carpenter's wife:

"...if she were the maior of London's wife, had I her once in my possession, I would keep her in spite of him that durst say nay.

In Scene Eight, hostility is softened somewhat when Sir Thomas More makes the visiting Erasmus the victim of a "merry jest."

Albright quotes from the chronicles of the day (1595);²

"In the year 1595 the poor Tradesmen made a Riot upon the Strangers in Southwark and other parts of the City of London. Whereupon was a presentment of the great Inquest for the said Borough, concerning the outrageous Tumult and Disorder unjustly committed there upon Thursday June 12, 1595, and the Leaders were punished and also the chief

1. Albright, E. M., Dramatic Publication in England, p. 130-9

2. Ebid., p. 132

Offenders. The like Tumults began at that same time within the Liberties where such Strangers commonly harboured. And upon the complaint of the Elders of the Dutch and French Churches Sir John Spenser, Lord Maior, committed some young Rioters to the Counter."

In drama enmity is further revealed in Dekker's The Shoemaker's Holiday (ii.3): Margery speaks of the disguised Lacy (Hans) as a "butter-box," a contemptuous term for a Dutchman. But it is she alone who receives the disguised Hans with ill-concealed antipathy (ii.3). In the last act the power of the bourgeoisie--tradesmen and apprentices--is reminiscent of the riotousness in Sir Thomas More.

Indifference appears in Ben Jonson's The Alchemist. There is a Dutch minister who is allowed to become a victim of "cosenage" without any real loss of dignity. In iii.1, 21-24, Subtle mentions the "Hollanders" during his discourse with Tribulation Wholesome, but there is nothing especially derogatory in his attitude which may appear directed particularly at the Dutch. The minister from Amsterdam uses good English, and no attempt is made to ridicule him through distortion of his speech. His name, of course, is not to be taken as serious commendation of Dutch ministers.

Another instance where neither antipathy nor regard appears is found in Beaumont and Fletcher's The Knight of The Burning Pestle (iii.2). The Wife and Citizen, her husband, discuss Ralph's encounter:

Citizen. Why, Nell, I saw him wrastle with the great Dutchman, and hurl him.

Wife. Faith, and the Dutchman was a goodly man...But

of all the sights that ever were in London, since I was married, methinks the little child that was so fair grown about the members was the prettiest; that and the hermaphrodite.

The great Dutchman¹ is represented as an interesting curiosity because of his appearance, and not necessarily because he is Dutch.

Ridicule, more or less friendly, appears in the Dutch-English which the dramatists allowed many of their Dutch characters to use. Especially notable in this respect are William Haughton's Englishmen for My Money, Middleton's The Roaring Girl, and Dekker's The Shoemaker's Holiday.

In The Shoemaker's Holiday, Lacy enters disguised as the Dutch Hans (ii.3):

Der was een bore van Gelderland
 Frolich sie byen
 He was als dronck he cold nyet stand,
 Upsolce sie byen
 Tap eens de canneken
 Drincke, schone mannekin
 . . .
 Hans. Yaw, yaw, ik bin den skomawker.

The Dutchman is finally hired in spite of Margery. The journeymen welcome the novelty of his presence:

Firk...hire him, good master, that I may learn some gibble-gabble; 'twill make us work the faster.

In this and in other plays of the period, Dutch terms of familiarity or endearment are employed. An illustration of this may be seen when Simon calls Margery a "brown-beard Tannikin," (a diminutive of Ann, usually applied to German or Dutch girls).

1. Stow mentions a giant Dutchman in his Annals.

The following plays, characters or passages appear complimentary to the Dutch:

First, there is a play, A Fair Quarrel (1617) by William Rowley and Thomas Middleton. They present a charming Dutch nurse who is quite worthy of the Physician's praise (iii.2)--

Physician. Sweet fro, to your most indulgent care,
take this my heart's joy; I must not tell you the
value of this jewel in my bosom...

Nurse. Dat you may vell, sir; der can niet forstoore you.

Her dialect adds to her charm and appears not to be severe ridicule.

The woman is a whore in Marston's The Dutch Courtezan (1605), but young Freevill describes her as an interesting creature:

(i.1)...a pretty nimble-ey'd Dutch tannakin; an honest,
soft-hearted impropriation; soft, plump, round-cheek'd
froe, that has beauty enough for virtue, virtue enough
for a woman, and woman enough for any reasonable man in
my knowledge.

Francescina, the Courtezan, enters (i.1) and as she speaks, Freevill's friend, Malheureux, finds it difficult to believe her reputation:

Frances. (to Freevill) O, Mine aderliver love, vat sall
me do to requit dis your much affection?

When she displays her talent for singing, in addition to her other charms, poor Malhereux is completely enamoured and the wily Freevill believes he has succeeded in shifting his comely mistress off on his friend.

Malheureux's words may or may not have any particular significance in view of what follows later:

"O love and beauty!
I never saw a sweet face vicious!"

Her courtezanship seems to have been conducted on a fairly decent level, in spite of the vituperative attack--no accusation of which she denies--by an accomplice, Mary Faugh.

Perhaps Frevill is justified in damning her for attempting his life:

"This fair devil
In shape of woman to make good her plot;"

Franceschina has just proved herself capable of a deep, violent, primitive, jealous love. For a beautiful woman, such as the dramatist has made her, to love a man well enough to kill him if she cannot keep him may not necessarily have been so terrible in the eyes of the Elizabethans, whose morals are said to have been rather lax. In the conclusion, she goes to her punishment asking no mercy, and nothing terrible is promised.

Creizenach¹ does not agree with this point of view. He supports his observations with a rather strong argument:

"The Dutch, too, came in for their share (of ridicule): the chief character in Marston's Dutch Courtesan keeps up her broken English throughout the entire play; and in the scenes depicting her mad thirst for vengeance this manner of speech creates a peculiarly grotesque impression which certainly does not frustrate but rather assists the general intention of the author."

It appears from Creizenach's comment that he has not taken into full consideration the fact that the play is a comedy, and that no matter how vindictive the love-smitten woman may be, the denouement is bound to be a happy one. Seldom is there anything "grotesque," or horribly associated with a "mad thirst for vengeance," which the Elizabethan audience, at a comedy, did not

1. Creizenach, W., Elizabethan Drama, p. 130

fully understand. It is also possible that Creizenach has not given sufficient consideration to the fact that the woman is represented as being quite delectable--a feature of womanliness which has led many Caesars and Antonys to loiter at Alexandria--and she does not have the appearance of a whore. She is talented, not unintelligent, and she loves deeply. After her attempted murders are discovered, she does not grovel, nor does she ask for mercy.¹ There seems to be adequate justification for accepting the dramatist's representation of Franceschina as a mild compliment, at least; if the author intended otherwise, perhaps he missed his purpose.

The general opinion which Elizabethans held of all Dutchmen appears to be indicated in the following comment and illustrative passages:

Iago speaks of "Your swag-bellied Hollander" who is a good drinker, but who cannot compete with the Englishman in handling his liquor.² This association of the Dutch with heavy drinking

1. See "Shylock" in Section 5 of Chapter II.

2. Harman, Dekker, Greene and others make much of this ability: (The Elizabethan Underworld, A. V. Judges, pp. 21,320,323,438)

Robert Copland. And how say ye by all these great drunkards,
That sup all off by pots and tankards,
Till they be so drunk that they cannot stand?
That is but little used in this land,
Except it be among Dutch folk or Flemings,
For Englishmen know not of such reckonings.

Dekker. "If thou meetest a Dutchman, drink with him; if a Frenchman, stab; if a Spaniard, betray; if an Italian, poison; if an Englishman, --do all this."

"But upon a day when a great matter was to be tried between an Englishman and a Dutchman, which of the two were the foulest drinkers..."

Willaim Fennor. "(protesting more kindness to me than a Dutchman will when he is drunk) so proffered me a can."

appears quite often in Elizabethan drama. In The Merry Wives of Windsor, Mistress Page speaks of Falstaff as "a Flemish drunkard."

In addition to the general characteristic just mentioned, the Dutch were represented as being a large, robust, "swag-bellied," "butter-loving,"¹ persevering race.

Dutchmen, then, were not the objects of any national enmity, as were the Spanish, the French, or--in a lesser degree--the Scotch. E. M. Albright² emphasizes the significance of the preceding statement regarding the attitudes toward Spanish and French aliens, previously discussed, in relation to the attitudes toward the Welsh and the Scotch, which discussions follow in this chapter:

"Throughout the reign of Elizabeth one may find instances of innocuous ridicule of foreigners. For example, Elizabeth was generally friendly to the Welsh; but their language was tempting to parody in comic dialect. Other outlandish dialects are used for humorous portrayal of foreigners, as in William Haughton's Englishmen for My Money, where three discomfited suitors talk Dutch-English, Italian-English, and French-English (no mention is made of the hated Spaniard's dialect--ed. note), and French-English. French jargon was very commonly used for humor. Shoemaker's Holiday and The Roaring Girl show a similar use of Dutch dialect."

"All this is very innocent. But the three nations which came into real rivalry in any way with England--Spain, France, and Scotland--came in for a more serious type of satire on the English stage, a satire probably intended to influence public opinion."

The Dutch were largely church-goers and skilled, unassuming, industrious workers, or stolid merchants. The hostility of the

1. Remarks about the Dutch as lovers of butter appear in The Merry Wives of Windsor, (ii.2), and Jonson's Every Man in His Humour (iii.2).
2. Albright, E. M., Dramatic Publication in England, p. 148

rioting apprentices in Sir Thomas More was not directed at them particularly. However, there is no denying the ridicule in the representation of their often atrocious English on the stage, but their ability with the cup of conviviality was really the envy of Englishmen. "Drunken Dutchman," and "swag-bellied Hollander" may be terms of ridicule, or even of contempt, but not easily may they be considered expressions of hatred.

4. Scotch Aliens

The history of relations between the English and the Scotch is packed with no less dramatic horror and intrigue, or romantic and roistering incident than the mightiest work of Shakespeare or any other dramatic artist. An examination of certain relative aspects of these relations should give some indication of what the drama might reveal in regard to Elizabethan opinions and attitudes.

Conditions before the accession of Elizabeth were especially not conducive to peaceful neighborliness:

"The relations between England and Scotland from the treaty of Northampton till the reign of Elizabeth may be briefly summed up. The two countries were bad neighbours for 230 years. When not actually at war they were plotting against one another, and their international hatred kept increasing in violence."¹

A few details on the situation as things stood during the reign of Henry VIII should give some indication of what Elizabeth had to face in 1558:

"England and Scotland were never further apart than they were in Henry VIII's reign. Forgetful of their common origin, they regarded each other with the most intense and bitter hatred. There was little intercourse or trade between them. Passports were necessary to travel from one country to the other, and the journey across the Border was very dangerous. Mutual ignorance increased mutual hatred; but that hatred was further envenomed by the Scotch alliance with France. England had to fight France in Scotland. It was galling to her pride to find the cause of her old enemy upheld by a nation of her own language, whom she could scarcely bring herself to regard in any other light than that of an upstart dependent. Endless feuds had created a waste many miles broad along the whole Border, from Berwick to Carlisle. On

1. Armitage, Ella S., The Connection between England and Scotland, Rivingtons, London, 1885, p. 67

either side of this waste dwelt the Borderers, a race of thieves and murderers, whose wild, romantic life, however much it may lend itself to poetic treatment was a survival of barbarism, odious even to that barbarous age."¹

From the time of William the Conqueror, Scotland was never free of English influence, in spite of the valiant efforts of Wallace, Bruce, or the Douglas. Diplomatic marriages joined the royal houses of both countries and eventually placed the Scottish James VI on the English throne. Earlier, during Elizabeth's reign, Mary, glamorous Queen of Scots and widow of the king of France, entertained well-founded--and not too secret--aspirations to the crown of Elizabeth. This royal alien was one of the few Scots to be ill-treated while visiting England. Forced to seek refuge in England as a result of several alleged illicit love-affairs and consequent political unpopularity, Mary was executed there for conspiracy. Subsequent events proved her to be not without sympathizers among the English who witnessed her demise.

The alien Scots in Elizabethan England mentioned thus far were principally of the nobility. This does not mean that the lower classes were not represented, in history and in the drama. The Lowlands and the other territory of the Scotch border changed hands so often that the inhabitants hardly knew which country had better claim to their allegiance.² However, it appears that the Scots by nature were such clannish lovers of their feudal Scotland, few of them would condescend, of their own volition, to live

1. Ibid., p. 79

2. Armitage, E. S., England and Scotland, p. 43

in England. Records of poor Scotch aliens in Shakespearean England are very hard to locate. Cunningham¹ speaks of the general character of Scots who traveled abroad--to England and elsewhere:

"...but large numbers of Scots took service in France, or were educated in Paris. Such scholars, on their return, advanced the cause of learning, and one of them, Bishop Elphinstone, founded the University of Aberdeen. This, in its constitution and terminology, closely resembled the medieval University of Paris, upon which it was modelled. In the department of law Scottish practice was derived from France, and, through that medium, from the Roman civil code."

Scots of this type could hardly have been subjected to any ill-treatment arising from contempt on the part of the English.

On many occasions there were Scots held as prisoners--usually as hostages--in England. Several Scottish kings who suffered such treatment have already been named here. Most accounts reveal these hostages returning to their native land with an impression of their "hosts" far different from that previous to their period of retention. The English evidently courted the favor of Scotland, at every opportunity, and only repaid the cruelty of barbarous warfare in kind. With this attitude of diplomatic courtesy, it should not seem strange if the records of treatment of Scots in England seldom show an instance of inhuman practices. From Harrison's Journals² there follows an account which appears to be illustrative in this respect:

"20th March (1599). The Scottish Pledges' Desperation. Those Scots that are kept as pledges in the castle at York of late made a very desperate attempt to escape, but one of the Council having some foreknowledge conferred with the

1. Cunningham, W., Aliens Immigrants in England, p. 11

2. Harrison, G. B., Elizabethan Journals, vol. III, p. 12

gaoler and set one Canby (that was in prison about the killing of a man) to spy upon the Scots. Hereby their plot was laid open so that when they brake forth from a window at nine o'clock at night and leapt to the ground, the gaoler with his men was ready for them and pursued them, some into the water at the Castle dyke. All were taken without hurt, save that the Laird of Whitto brake his leg."

The general history of relations between England and Scotland appears to furnish a necessary background for an analysis of the attitudes of Elizabethans as represented in the drama of the times. That the drama seems to reflect these varying attitudes, which were altered by significant events in the history of England, appears especially true in regard to English opinion and treatment of the Scots. Friendly relations established by the emergency of 1588 were by no means permanent, and the reference from Harrison just quoted--concerning rumours of another Spanish invasion attempt--is evidence of further grounds for English suspicion of their Northern neighbors. But at least the seed of good fellowship had been sown. Essex favored Scotch succession as Elizabeth grew old. So, it seems, did Shakespeare, for his plays do not treat the Scot unkindly; especially is Macbeth a high tribute to Scotch royalty. An analysis of attitudes in several representative plays containing Scotch characters or allusions to Scots should reveal the opinions of the public:

In 1591 there was printed The Scottish Historie of James the Fourth, by Robert Greene. The Induction presents Bohan, a Scot, in conversation with Oberon, King of the Fairies:

Bohan. Ah say, what's thou?

Oberon. Thy friend, Bohan.

Bohan. What wot I or reck I that? whay, guid man, I reck no friend nor ay reck no foe; als ene to me. Git

thee ganging, and trouble not may whayet, or ays gar thee
 recon me nene of thay friend, by the Mary mass, sall I!
 Oberon. Why, angry Scot, I visit thee for love;...
 Bohan. The de'il a whit reck I thy love;...
 Oberon. Why, stoical Scott,...

The English Oberon seeks to reason with the Scot in friendly fashion. The distorted language cannot but be construed as good-natured ridicule, but at least there is a note of praise, patience and tolerance in Oberon's "thy friend," and "stoical Scot."

Act One opens with Scotch and English in perfect accord;

"Enter the King of England, the King of Scots, Queen Dorothea, the Countess of Arran, Ida, and Lords; with them Ateurin, aloof."

King of Scots. Brother of England, since our neighbouring
 lands

And near alliance do invite our loves,
 The more I think upon our last accord,
 The more I grieve your sudden parting hence.
 First, laws of friendship did confirm our peace;
 Now both the seal of aath and marriage-bed,
 The name of father, and the style of friend;
 These force in me affection full confirm'd;
 So that I brieve--and this my hearty grief
 To lose your presence, who are now to me
 A father, brother and a vowed friend.

King of England. Link all these lovely styles, good
 king, in one:

And since thy grief exceeds in my depart,
 I leave my Dorothea to enjoy
 Thy whole compact of loves and plighted vows.
 Brother of Scotland,...

Act Two finds Queen Dorothea enacting the role of a "patient Griselda," for her wayward husband. It seems as if she personifies a "patient England," seeking to keep the peace and dutiful regard of a turbulent, wilful Scotland.

Q. Dorothea. (aside). What mean these princes sadly to
 consult?

Somewhat, I fear, betideth them amiss,
 They are so pale in looks, so vex'd in mind.--

In happy hour, the noble Scottish peers,
 Have I encounter'd you: what makes you mourn?
 Bishop of St. Andrew. ...To this intent, these nobles
 and myself,
 That are, or should be, eyes of commonweal,
 Seeing his highness' reckless course of youth,
 His lawless and unbridled vein in love,
 His too intentive trust to flatters...

The English-born queen speaks of "noble Scottish peers," and her words are complimentary. Then there appears what may be considered the English attitude toward the illicit love affairs of the romantic Scottish Mary,¹ (not long since excuted in England) as the noblemen criticize their sovereign.

From the English point of view, the Scot is not unwilling to commit murder whenever it seems a convenient solution to any difficulty. History proves this opinion sufficiently well-founded; the inclination appears in the drams: (ii.2)

King of Scots. If Dorothea die, will Ida love?
 Ateukin. She will, my lord.
 King of Scots. Then let her die: devise, advise the means;...
 Ateukin. What, will your grace consent?...
 There's here in court a Frenchman, Jacques call'd
 A fit performer of our enterprise,
 Whom I by gifts and promise will corrupt
 To slay the queen,...

The English writer represents the Frenchman as being quite ready to murder the patient personification of English fidelity and Scotch-English accord. The murder is attempted (unsuccessfully) and the King of England sets forth to avenge the reported death of his daughter. His campaign accomplishes the subjugation of the Scots who submit rather humbly. Thus Green's play shows

1. Wood, Stanley, A Midsummer Night's Dream, Oxford and Cambridge edition, London, 1937, p. 122

the dangers of any sudden departure from the accord established in 1588--or in any other period, for that matter. (v.3)

Douglas...Take us to mercy, for we yield ourselves.
King of England. What, shall I enter, then, and be your lord?

Douglas. We will submit us to the English king.

The Englishman was flattering himself in having a Douglas demean himself abjectly.

However, it seems the author felt atonement necessary, for in Act Five (v. 6) the two kings meet more or less as equals. They square off for battle, but Dorothea appears, alive and well, to save the day;

"March over bravely, first the English host, the sword carried before the King by Percy; the Scottish on the other side, with all their pomp, bravely." (stage directions, v.6)

King of Scots...What seeks the King of England in this land?

King of England. False, traitorous Scot, I come for to revenge,...

...if thou be a prince and man-at-arms,
In single combat come and try thy right,
Else will I prove thee recreant to thy face.

King of Scots. I seek no combat, false injurious king.

But, since thou needless art inclin'd to war,

Do what thou dar'st; we are in open field;

Arming by battle, I will fight with thee.

(Enter Queen Dorothea, Sir Cuthbert and others)

Sir Cuthbert. Stay, princes, wage not war;

... ..

Queen Dorothea. Ah royal husband, see what God hath wrought!

Thy foe is thy friend.--Good men-at-arms,

Do you the like.--These nations if they join,

What monarch, with his liege-men, in this world,

Dare but encounter you in open field?

The English extend the hand of friendship to the Scot with a warning illustration of the dangers involved with any failure to cooperate. There appears here also a criticism of the Scots'

manner of refusing open battle with the English. To the latter they are not cowards but are definitely most cautious.

Edward I, by George Peele (1593), reveals a slight change in attitudes. In the dramatis personae there are listed John Baliol, eight other Lords of Scotland, and several Welsh Barons. Edward I (Longshanks) addresses them as they stand humbly before him (Scene iii):

Longshanks. Nobles of Scotland, we thank you all
For this day's gentle princely service done
To Edward, England's king and Scotland's lord...
Baliol. Victorious Edward, to whom the Scottish kings
Owe homage as the lord and sovereign,
Amongst us nine is but one lawful king:
But might we all be judges in the case,
Then should in Scotland be nine kings at once...
Longshanks...Baliol, stand farthest forth:
...behold, I give thee the Scottish crown.
Wear it with heart and with thankfulness.

There seems a lessening of the spirit of equality, or near-equality, as was observed in Greene's James the Fourth.

Scene Nine finds Scotland in open revolt against "England's tyranny":

Baliol. Time is to rouse him, the world may wot
Scotland disdains to carry English yoke...
...Bear through defiance proudly to the king;
Tell him Albania finds heart and hope
To shake off England's tyranny betimes,
To rescue Scotland's honour with her sword.

"The Scot is a belligerent, rebellious creature," the Englishman is saying. This idea is emphasized in the next passage:

Longshanks. Hold messenger: command me to thy king;
Wear thou my chain, and carry this to him.
Tell them such shameful end will hit them all;

And wend with this as resolutely back
As thou to England brought'st thy Scottish braves¹...

The Scot's willingness to fight a "running" battle is exhibited in the stage directions to the very next scene.

Versses has delivered his message to King Baliol, but has been found guilty of harboring English sympathies. His sentence is death. At this point, Mortimer and the English rush across the stage after the fleeing rebels.

"The Scotchman is ungrateful," continues the presentation:

Baliol, held captive (Scene xxi), is rebuked--

Longshanks. Now trothless king, what fruits have
Long braving boasts?

...How comes it, then, that thou forgett'st thy books
That schooled thee to forget ingratitude?

...Thy glories are dispers'd;
And heifer-like, sith thou hast pass'd thy bounds,
Thy sturdy neck must stoop to bear this yoke.

Baliol. I took this lesson, Edward, from my book,--
To keep a just equality of mind,
Content with every fortune as it comes...

Longshanks. Your moderation is enforced;...

Baliol. If cunning may have power to win the king,
Let those employ it that can flatter him;
If honour'd deed may reconcile the king,
It lies in me to give and him to take...

Allegiance, as becomes a royal king.

Longshanks. What league of faith where league is broken
once?

But foolish are these monarchs that do yield a conquered
realm upon submissive vows.

Baliol. There, take my crown and so redeem my life.

Longshanks. Ay, sir: that was the choicest plea of both;
For whoso quells the pomp of haughty minds
And breaks their staff whereon they build their trust,
Is sure in wanting power they cannot harm.

Baliol shall live; but yet within such bounds
That, if his wings grow flig, they may be clipt.

1. "Braves" is used here to mean "bravadoes." (editor's note from Bullen's edition of The Works of George Pelle.)

Again, he is a stoical, "sturdy-neck'd," cunning creature, not to be trusted too far. He is of "haughty mind," and quite worthy of being left alive--thought restricted in his activities--for diplomatic reasons.

It is the opinion of Stanley Wood¹ that Shakespeare expresses his opinion of certain circumstances of Scotch history, in this pre-Jacobean period of Elizabethan drama. He mentions the possibility of allegorical significance in A Midsummer Night's Dream (ii.1,149-169) from the point of view of a not unsympathetic Shakespeare:

Oberon. My gentle Puck, come hither: thou rememberest
Since once I sat upon a promontory,
And heard a mermaid on a dolphin's back
Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath,
That the rude sea grew civil at her song,
And certain stars shot madly from their spheres,
To hear the sea-maid's music.

Puck I remember.

Oberon. That very time I saw, but thou couldst not,
Flying between the cold moon and the earth,
Cupid all arm'd; a certain aim he took
At a fair vestal throned by the west,
And loosed his love-shaft smartly from his bow
As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts;
But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft
Quench'd in the chaste beams of the watery moon,
And the imperial votaress passed on,
In maiden meditation, fancy-free.
Yet mark'd I where the bolt of Cupid fell;
It fell upon a little western flower,
Before milk-white, now purple with love's wound,
And maidens call it love-in-idleness.

Stanley Wood explains the allegory:

"The allegory contained in ii.1.,149-169 has received various ingenious explanations. In one of them the mermaid is said to refer to Mary, Queen of Scots, the dolphin to the

1. Wood, Stanley, A Midsummer Night's Dream, Oxford and Cambridge edition, London, 1937, p. 122

Dauphin of France, the 'rude sea' is Scotland which was in a state of disorder until the arrival of its queen in 1561, and the 'certain stars' which 'shot madly from their spheres' are the English nobles who fell in her cause."

In Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice (i.2, 84 seq.), Portia's ridicule of the Scottish lord is not unkindly:

Nerissa. What think you of the Scottish lord,¹ his neighbor?
Portia. That he hath a neighbourly charity in him, for he borrowed a box of the ear of the Englishman and swore he would pay him again when he was able; I think the Frenchman became his surety and sealed under for another.

It seems that the needy Scot borrows trouble in opposing the Englishman, and his relations with the Frenchman promise him only additional embarrassment, according to Shakespeare.

There is definitely a compliment to the Scotch represented by Douglas² in I Henry IV (iv.1), by Shakespeare:

Hotspur. Well said, my noble Scot; if speaking truth
In this fine age were not thought flattery,
Such attribution should the Douglas have,
As not a soldier of this season's stamp

1. Criezenach comments on "Scottish lord" here (Criezenach, W., The Elizabethan Drama, p. 135, footnote): "The Scottish lord who is ridiculed in The Merchant of Venice was, in the reign of James I changed into 'the other lord.'"
2. This representation of the Douglas prevails throughout the play (i.1, 53; i.3, 12; ii.3, 22; iii.2, 114; v.1, 116). However, he is called "vile Scot" as he defeats the English king. Prince Henry addresses him in this manner and drives him away in order to save his father's (the king's) life. Stage directions tarnish the glory of Douglas: (They fight; Douglas flies). But the Prince explains (v.5, 17-31):

Prince. The noble Scot, Lord Douglas, when he saw
The fortune of the day quite turn'd from him,
The noble Percy slain, and all his men
Upon the foot of fear, fled with the rest;
And falling from a hill, he was so bruised
That the pursuers took him.

... ..

His valour shown upon our crests to-day
Hath taught us how to cherish such high deeds
Even in the bosom of our adversaries.

Should go so general current through the world,
 By God, I cannot flatter: but a braver place in my
 In my heart's love hath no man than yourself.
 Nay, task me to my word: approve me, lord.
 Douglas. Thou art the king of honour:

The admiration is mutual. There is a sense of equality in the tone of their conversation. This play appeared in 1598, as the end of Elizabeth's reign drew nearer to its close and the succession of James Stuart appeared--in vague outline, as yet--on the horizon of the northward border.

"The Scot has no sense of fair-play," says the Englishman, "for he strikes when our backs are turned." This seems to represent the English opinion of the Scot who perennially ranged himself against his blood-brother through alliance with the France. An illustration of this attitude is found in Henry V (i.2, 166-173), written by Shakespeare around 1599:

Westmoreland. But there's a saying very old and true,
 'If that you will France win,
 Then with Scotland first begin;
 For once the eagle England being in prey,
 To her unguarded nest the weasel Scot
 Comes sneaking and so sucks her princely eggs,
 Playing the mouse in absence of the cat,
 To tear and havoc more than she can eat.

The preceding speech sounds like the complaint of an outraged friend--one who resents an unjustifiable act of ingratitude or violence. In iii.2, of the same play, the Scotch captain, Jany, who serves in the English army¹ is complimented for his carriage

1. In Harrison's Journals there are several accounts of instances where Scotch soldiers served in the English army. An entry for May 7, 1592, tells of the pillaging of the Duke of Parma's camp (pp. 129-130, Harrison's Journals):

"On 30th April, the King assembled early in the morning 1000 English, as many Scots and Netherlands...Sir Roger Williams was appointed to second him with 200 English and 400 Scottish and Netherlands;..."

and abilities:

Gower. Here a' come; and the Scots captain, Captain Jamy, with him.

Fluellen. Captain Jamy is a marvellous falorous gentleman, that is certain; and of great expedition and knowledge of his directions: by Cheshu, he will maintain his argument as well as any military man in the world, in the disciplines of the pristine wars with the Romans.

The three foreign captains all are represented in a different light, with their respective Irish, Welsh, and Scotch traits emphasized distinctly as the Englishman saw them. On the appearance of Welsh Fluellen, Scotch Jamy, and Irish Macmorris at this point in the play, Barton¹ offers an interesting comment:

"Dr. George Brandes, in his Critical Study of Shakespeare's Plays remarks that 'in placing on the stage three representatives of the different English-speaking peoples, Shakespeare had another and deeper purpose than that of amusing the public with a medley of dialects. At that time the Scots were still the hereditary enemies of England, who always attacked her in the rear whenever she went to war, and the Irish were actually in open rebellion. Shakespeare evidently dreamed of a greater England, as we nowadays speak of a greater Britain.' Doctor Brandes' theory may fail to receive universal acceptance; but it is entirely in keeping with Shakespeare's attitude of mind towards affairs of state. He thought imperially; but his imperial aspirations always ran upon lines that were tolerant and sympathetic."²

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1. Creizenach comments of this situation (The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare, 1916, p. 134, 135):

"After the union of the two countries under James I, it was dangerous for a poet to make spiteful allusion of his compatriots who now came swarming over the border to make their fortunes, and snapped away many a lucrative post from native-born Englishmen. The offender was liable to be clapped into prison, and might think himself lucky if he did not lose his ears in the bargain."

2. Further evidence in this regard appears in Macbeth's words (iv.3) probably intended to please James I: ...and some I see that two-fold balls and treble sceptres carry:

The Jacobean period began in 1603. The drama of that time reveals and England not too happy over the institution of a Stuart regime. Many indications point to an "expedient" toleration having replaced an earlier Elizabethan "diplomatic" toleration.¹ Ridicule and resentment appear in Eastward Ho (1605), by Chapman, Marston, and Jonson:

Seagull, Scapethrift and Spendall (iii.3), in a tavern are speaking of the wonders of America, particularly Virginia---

Scapethrift. And is it pleasant country withal?

Seagull. As ever the sun shin'd on

And you shall live freely there, without sergeants,² or courtiers, or lawyers, or intelligencers, ^{3,4} only a few industrious Scots, perhaps, who indeed are dispers'd over the face of the whole earth. But, as for them, there are no greater friends to Englishmen and England, when they are out on't, in the world than they are. And, for my part, I would a hundred thousand of 'em were there, for we all are one countrymen now, ye know, and we should find ten times more comfort there than we do here...⁵

Creizenach makes the following observation:⁶

"Indeed, the Scottish Court took umbrage at this hostile attitude of the English stage...(footnote) On the 15th April, 1598, George Nicholson, the English agent, writes to Burleigh from Edinburgh that he has heard that 'the comedians of London should in their play (sic) scorn the King and people of this lande.' Nicholson hopes that this will be put a stop to in order not to arouse any bad feeling in Scotland."

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2. "Sergeants" were law-enforcement officers.
3. "Intelligencers" were informers.
4. The passage which begins here appears only in Quarto I.
5. The expunged passage ends here.
6. Ibid., p. 134

Ridicule of the speech of the greatest "alien" from Scotland, King James I, proved rather inconvenient for the authors of Eastward Ho (iv.1):

First Gentleman. On what coast are you think you?
 Petronel. On the coast of France, sir.
 First Gentleman. On the coast of Dogs, sir; y'are i' the Isle o'Dogs, I tell you. I see y've been wash'd in the Thames here, and I believe ye were drown'd in a tavern before, or else you would never have took boat in such a dawming as this was. Farewell, farewell; we will not know you, for shaming of you. I ken the man weel; he's one of my thirty pound knights.¹

Macbeth appeared in 1606. Creizenach and other critics link the play very definitely with James I:

"Macbeth was a tribute of welcome to the Scottish King."²

Snider has this to say of the situation:³

1. Eastward Ho is edited by Hazelton Spencer in his book Elizabethan Plays, pp. 477-516. He comments on the attitudes of the writers and the king's reaction to their ridicule: (p.475)
 "King James was naturally offended by the gibes at Scots in iii.3, and the rendition of the royal accent in iv.1; and Chapman and Marston were imprisoned, Jonson joining them voluntarily, according to the account of the affair he gave to Drummond of Hathornden...Letters to James and to a number of powerful patrons soon secured their release, with their ears uncropped."
2. Creizenach, Wilhelm, The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare, p. 116
3. Snider, Denton J., Shakespearian Drama, p. 210. "The play gives a typical view of Scotland, and the character of its people, with their superstitions, virtues and vices, and with local touches of atmosphere and landscape. The political relation of the two countries is shown from an English point of view: Scotland, full of revolt, turbulence and crime, pacified by interference from England. The model of the ruler in the drama is an English King, who imports his excellence to the Scottish King."

In Macbeth, the Scots are magnificent figures. This play was a timely and highly complimentary tribute from Shakespeare, and in it, Scotch-English accord is so complete that detailed reference seems unnecessary.¹ However, there is a passage which contributes specifically toward determining the attitudes toward Scots in England (iii.6):

Lord (to Lennox). . . . The son of Duncan,
From whom this tyrant holds the due of birth,
Lives in the English court, and is received
Of the most pious Edward with such grace
That the malevolence of fortune nothing
Takes from his high respect; thither Macduff
Is gone to pray the holy king, upon his aid
To wake Northumberland and warlike Siward;

In Macbeth may be seen the happiest consummation of relations between the two kindred, neighboring nations.

In view of the preceding statements of this chapter the following conclusions may be drawn;

The English attitudes toward the Scotch varied according to the historical situations and incidents of the time. The Englishman received the Scot cordially whenever it was possible to do so without lowering his pride; he courted the favor of individuals from Scotland in order to extend English influence over Scotland--for diplomatic purposes, in other words. From 1588 to 1593, the Scot in England was treated more or less as an equal. From 1593 to 1600 there returned the ancient attitude of hostility. From 1600 to 1617 there prevailed a kind of "expedient" toleration of the

1. Macbeth is largely Shakespearized Scotch history. Detailed analysis would principally involve a repetition of the historical relations which have already been sufficiently emphasized for the present purpose.

is shown, the House has rejected the bill. This bill
and a bill to amend the act of 1907, which was passed
on 17, March, 1907, are now in the Senate. The bill
entitled "An act to amend the act of 1907, relating to
the collection of duties on imports of certain goods
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of the English, for the Scots, then in power, were reaping the spoils diplomatic of victory which the English had sought so long.

5. Welshmen

Until the Tudors came into power, the English regarded Wales as a hostile country. Laws favoring the Welsh not at all were passed during the reign of Henry IV: An Englishman could take the law into his own hands, with the government's sanction, in order to recover any property stolen by a Welshman, with full privilege of stealing all he could from him at the same time. No Englishman could be condemned in court by a Welshman except by English justices, and no Welshman could carry arms or hold any kind of office, his country being under English authority, anyway. Another law especially affecting Welsh women was passed whereby marriage with any Englishman was subject to many kinds of restrictions.

King Henry VIII removed most of these "iniquitous acts" when he came to the throne. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth and later, there were feuds, common brawls and crimes of many varieties in Wales just as in England, and particularly in London. The religious conditions in Wales were very dark during the Tudor period. In 1563, Elizabeth obtained the passage of a law ordering the translation of the Old and New Testaments and the English Prayer Book into vernacular Welsh, something which was never done for either Ireland or Scotland.¹

The people of Wales are a proud, hardy, brave and warlike nation. They are proud of their language,¹ which they claim to

1. Harries, Fred. J., Shakespeare and the Welsh, p. 97

William Cecil, Lord Burghley; William Herbert; the Earl of Pembroke; Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who wrote his interesting auto-biography, and Queen Elizabeth herself--all were of Welsh descent, and the Queen spoke highly of her Welsh ancestry.

John Williams, goldsmith to James I, was Welsh, as were Inigo Jones, famous London architect, and the celebrated harpist, Thomas Pritchard, who died in London in 1597.

After the accession of Henry VIII and his sanction of The Act of Union between England and Wales, much of the enmity between the neighboring nationalities disappeared. The Welsh proudly insisted on maintaining their individuality as a nation, many even to the point of refusing to learn English well enough to converse easily. The native customs, broken-English, and various other mannerisms were oddities in the sight of the English who ridiculed them no little. Elizabethan law enforcement never was very effective, even in the heart of London, so it is no wonder that border raids and thieving were no more than ordinary. The English looked upon the Welsh who continued to steal from them just as the Welsh regarded the English raiders, though evidence points to the possibility that the latter, with a fair degree of justification, considered themselves much more civilized. From the Welsh view point, however, they had at least as much pride as the English. They held noble birth in high esteem, and sought to marry into the nobility whenever

possible. (Owain Glyndwr¹ has his daughter to marry Mortimer, and Fluellen² speaks with pride of his illustrious ancestry). Even the common folks were able to name their forebears as far back as seven generations. From Harries³ comes an incident which is illustrative of Welsh pride of station, and which also bears a touch of a most-often-overlooked Welsh humor: (in summary)

King James I was visiting in Chester. The weather was quite warm, and the crowd around the king's coach caused the dust to rise, making it very uncomfortable for His Majesty. He sought relief, so he told one of his noblemen to get rid of the crowd as politely as possible. A happy thought struck the nobleman as he put his head out of the coach window, and he said: "It is the King's pleasure that all who are gentlemen should ride forward." All rode quickly away, with the exception of one man. "And so, sir, you are not a gentleman, then," remarked the king. "Oh yes, please your Majesty," he answered, "but hur ceffyl, God help hur, is not so good." "Every man is a gentleman in Wales," observed the king. It is fairly safe to conclude that the English were well acquainted with Welsh pride of lineage.

The Prince of Wales (later Edward VII) delivered a speech in 1896 at the University of Wales. There is a part of this speech which sums up the situation, historically, and leads into

1. Shakespeare, 1 Henry IV, iii,1.

2. Shakespeare, Henry V, iii,3.

3. Harries, Frederick J., Shakespeare and the Welsh, p. 86-87

the actual presentation of Shakespeare's attitude toward the Welsh.¹

"From very early times, in spite of difficulties and adverse circumstances, the Welsh people have seldom failed to display a marked love for literature and learning. Even in so remote an age as the sixth century, works were produced in which scholars perceive a standard of literary taste very noteworthy for those early days. Schools of systematic learning in Wales existed only in its monasteries, and from St. David's came forth Asser to aid Alfred the Great in his work amongst his West Saxon subjects. Throughout the Middle Ages we find the profession of letters held in universal respect in Wales, its exponents protected by privileges and treated everywhere as honoured guests and the objects of popular regard; while Welsh scholars absent from home constituted a conspicuous element in the cosmopolitan crowds which flocked to medieval Oxford. The troubles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries fatally obstructed the development of permanent educational institutions west of Offa's Dyke; but when England under the Tudors opened its colleges to the scholastic ambition of Wales, Welsh students were again found thronging to the English universities, and adding distinguished names to the rolls of the learned professions. Nor is it without significance that Shakespeare, with his intuitive perception of character, representing at this epoch three highly finished portraits of Welshmen, depicted them all--the soldier, the divine, and the feudal chieftain--as men of thought and learning."

The Welsh characters and allusions to Welshmen or Wales in the works of Shakespeare and several of his contemporaries appear in the following list of plays and quotations:

Shakespeare: I Henry IV, principal Welsh character, Glendower.
 "i.1. Against the irregular and wild Glendower,
 Was by the rude hands of that Welshman taken,
 A thousand of his people butchered;
 Upon whose dead corpse there was such misuse,
 Such beastly shameless transformation,
 By those Welshwomen done as may not be
 Without much shame retold or spoken of."

1. Harries, Frederick J., Shakespeare and the Welsh, pp. 64-65

i.3. The lives of those that he did lead to fight
Against that great magician, damn'd Glendower
Whose daughter, as we hear, the Earl of March
Hath lately married.

...He durst as well have met the devil alone
As Owen Glendower for an enemy.

ii.3. Hotspur: Is there not my father, my uncle and
myself? Lord Edmund Mortimer, my Lord of York and
Owen Glendower?

iii.1. Mortimer: "This is the deadly spite that
angers me;

My wife can speak no English, I no Welsh.

...I understand thy kisses and thou mine,"

II Henry IV (Glendower mentioned)

i.3. Hastings to Bardolph: "For his divisions...
Are in three heads, one power against the French,
And one against Glendower;"

iii.1. Warwick to King: "To comfort you the more,
I have received
A Certain instance that Glendower is dead."

Henry V, Fluellen, principal Welsh Character

iv.1. King: "I am a Welshman."

Pistol: "Know'st thou Fluellen?"

.....

King: "There is much care and valour in this
Welshman."

iv.7. King: "Follow, good cousin Warwick:
If that the soldier strike him, as I judge
By his blunt bearing he will keep his word,
...For I do know Fluellen valiant
And, touch'd with choler, hot as gunpowder,
And quickly will return an injury:"

v.1. Fluellen to Gower: "I will tell you, asse my
friend..the rascally scauld, ..pragging knave,
Pistol, ..he is come to me and prings me pread
and salt yesterday and bid me eat my leek: it
was in a place where I could not breed no
contention with him;..till I see him again, and
then I will tell him a little piece of my desires."

Richard III: Earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII

iv.4. Stanley: "Richmond is on the seas.

.....

.....

....

He makes for England, there to claim the crown."

King: "You cannot guess wherefore the Welshman comes."

Richard II: A Welsh Captain; Glandower mentioned.

ii.4. Salisbury: "Stay yet another day, thou trusty Welshman;

The king reposeth all his confidence in thee."

Welsh Captain: "...our countrymen are gone and fled,
As well assured their king is dead."

iii.1. Bolingbroke to lords: "Come, lords, away,
To fight with Glendower and his complices."

iii.2. Salisbury to King Richard: "For all the
Welshmen, hearing thou wert dead,
Are gone to Bolingbroke, dispersed and fled."

iii.3. Bolingbroke: "The Welshmen are dispersed,"

II Henry VI, Glendower mentioned

ii.2. Salisbury to York: "This Edmund, in the reign
of Bolingbroke,

As I have read, laid claim unto the crown;
And, but for Owen Glendower, had been king,
Who kept him in captivity till he died."

III Henry VI, Welsh, loyal to Earl of March

ii.2. Warwick to lords: "With all the friends
that thou, brave of Earl of March,
Amongst the loving Welshmen canst procure."

The Merry Wives of Windsor, Sir Hugh Evans, Welsh
minister Dramatis Personae: Sir Hugh Evans, a
Welsh parson

i.1. Sir Hugh appears, speaks

i.2. Evans: "I will make an end of my dinner; there's
pippins and cheese to come."

ii.1. Shallow to Page: "Sir, there is a fray to be
fought between Sir Hugh the Welsh priest and
Caius the French doctor."

ii.2. Ford: "I will rather trust a Fleming with my
butter, Parson Hugh the Welshman with my cheese,
an Irishman with my aqua-vitae bottle, or a thief...
..than my wife with herself;"

iii.1. Host: "Shall I lose my doctor, no; he gives
me potions and motions. Shall I lose my parson..?
no; he gives me the proverbs and the no-verbs.
I have deceived you both;...and let burnt sack
be the issue."

iii.2. Ford: "I beseech you heartily..go home with me to dinner. Master doctor,..Master Page; and you, Sir Hugh."

iii.3. Sir Hugh appears, speaks, follows through on the indications of iii.2.

v.3. Mrs. Ford to Mrs. Page: "Where is Nan now and her troupe of fairies, and the Welsh devil Hugh?"

v.4,5. "Enter Sir Hugh Evans, disguised, with others as fairies."

Ben Jonson: For the Honour of Wales: Play written expressly to praise the Welsh. Contains praise, for, and good-natured fun-poking at the Welsh. Evan, a Welsh attorney is one of the characters. There are present women in Welsh costume; Welsh expressions, harpists, and mannerisms on the stage. Closing speech is praise tinged with sarcasm.

Expressions: "Docko Ve (There he is)"

"Strewch (Hold your peace)"

Bartholomew Fair: Character, Lanthorn Leatherhead, said to be a caricature of Inigo Jones, Welsh Architect.

ii. Leatherhead: "...sit farther with your gingerbread progeny and hinder not my prospect of the shop."

Trash:..."I pay for my ground as well as thou dost, and thou wrongst me, for all thou art parcel, poet and ingineer!" (play on the word "Inigo," perhaps)

Robert Armin: The Valiant Welshman. Welsh character as represented by the title. (1615)

Thomas Nashe: Gros III. Uses a number of Welsh expressions. (1596)

Beaumont and Fletcher: Harries says of these collaborators:¹

"Beaumont and Fletcher considered the speaking of Welsh a proof of dishonesty."

These works present a fairly accurate reflection of the attitude of the English people toward their Welsh neighbors, although the list does not contain all of the plays about Welshmen

1. Harries, Frederick J., Shakespeare and the Welsh, p. 69

written by Shakespeare's associates of the drama. These quotations form the nucleus of the subsequent analysis which should reveal the status of the Welsh in Elizabethan estimation.

In spite of the speech by the Prince of Wales in 1896, and the high praise of the Welsh by Mr. F. J. Harries¹, and many of the English had suffered injury at the hands of the Welsh:

In his Bartholomew Fair, Jonson's character, Leatherhead, appears to be the Welsh Inigo Jones, architect. Leatherhead is a rather selfish, hard-headed, quarrelsome, money-loving maker of toys. The character is ridiculed rather severely,² but not just because he is Welsh.

The use of Welsh phrases in Gros III, by Thomas Nashe, and For the Honour of Wales, by Jonson, was made to poke fun at the Welsh difficulty in speaking English, as well as the odd (to the English) pronunciation of the Welsh words. This seems to show that the English were able to understand many Welsh expressions, since no effort is made to translate all these various expressions in the plays.

A little darker shade of the negative side appears in the serious accusation by Westmoreland in 1 Henry IV, 1,1:³

..."There came
A post from Wales, loaden with heavy news;
Whose worst was,--that noble Mortimer,
Leading the men of Herefordshire to fight
Against the irregular and wild Glendower,
was by the rude hands of that Welshman taken,

1. Harries, F. J., Shakespeare and the Welsh, page 64

2. Harries, F. J., Shakespeare and the Welsh, page 63

3. Holingshed's Chronicles, iii, page 528

And a thousand of his people butchered;
 Upon whose dead corpse there was such misuse,
 Such beastly shameless transformation,
 by those Welshmen done, as may not be,
 Without much shame, re-told or spoken of."

He is accusing the Welsh of mutilating the bodies of dead Englishmen, and the blame eventually fell upon the Welsh women who followed their men to battle, serving as auxiliaries and attendants for the fighters. Reference to the "wild Glendower" adds to the belief that the leader and his people were not nearly as civilized as the English of that day.

Another inference of dishonesty--at least it may be interpreted as such--is found in The Merry Wives of Windsor, iii,2, lines 300-310.

Ford: "Page is an ass, a secure ass: he will trust his wife; he will not be jealous. I will rather trust a Fleming with my butter, Parson Hugh, the Welshman with my cheese, an Irishman with my aqua-vitae bottle, or a thief to walk my ambling gelding, than my wife with herself."

It appears here that even Parson Hugh, as a Welshman, fits into a category of thieves. However, this instance need not be taken too seriously, but it is the opinion of a common man speaking of a supposedly respectable Welsh gentleman.

In the light of the evidence of the nobility of the Welsh being ridiculed by the English commoners, there is an illustration in Henry V, iv,1, when King Henry has a conversation, incognito, with Pistol:

Pistol: "What is thy name?"

K. Hen.: "Harry Le Roy"

Pistol: "Le Roy! a cornish name: art thou of Cornish crew?"

K. Hen.: "No, I am a Welshman."

Pistol: "Know'st thou Fluellen?"

K. Hen.: "Yes"

Pistol: "Tell him, I'll knock his leek about his pate upon Saint Davy's day."

K. Hen.: "Do not you wear your dagger in your cap that day, lest he knock that about yours."

Pistol: "Art thou his friend?"

K. Hen.: "And his kinsman too."

Pistol: "The figo for thee, then!"

This tends to show a rather brazen disregard for the national emblem of Wales (the leek) and no great respect for a mighty captain in the English army, who is obviously high in the favor of English nobility.

In this passage it is significant to note that, although Pistol does not know that he is talking to the king, the English audience knows it; therefore, the disrespect applies just the same with only a thin veil of subtlety. When this scene appeared on the stage, Elizabeth was on the throne--and she was of Welsh descent.

Fluellen explains the leek as the national emblem of Welsh honor, but it is quite easy to understand how the English felt toward the use of such a lowly--though entirely edible--vegetable for such an exalted position: (Henry V, iv,7) He is speaking with the King---

"Flu. Your grandfather of famous memory, an't please your majesty, and your great-uncle Edward the Plack Prince of Wales, as I have read in the chronicles, fought a most prave pattle here in France.

King. They did, Fluellen.

Flu. Your majesty says very true; if your majesties is remembered of it, the Welshmen did good service in a garden where leeks did grow, wearing links in their Mommouth caps; which your majesty know, to this hour os an honourable badge of the service; and I do believe your majesty takes no scorn to wear the leek upon

Saint Tavy's day.
King. I wear it for a memorable honour."

Fluellen attracts attention, not only to his leek, but to his use of the English language, both of which add nothing to the dignity of his position in the eyes of the English. The reference to the great battle, ending in victory for the English in France, appears to be the Battle of Crecy.

Under the circumstances, ridicule was inevitable, but with it there went a profound respect for many of the abilities and qualities of the Welsh.

The three principal Welsh characters in Shakespeare are illustrative figures in many respects. Their names are Owen Glendower, Fluellen, and Sir Hugh Evans.

Glendower is a hot-tempered, brave, prudent, mystical (or simply pagan), poetical warrior-statesman of Wales. He revels against the authority of Henry IV, thrice defeating the non-descript forces of the king, making uneasy indeed, "the head that wears a crown." After each border battle he always has escaped almost magically to the safety of Welsh mountain fastnesses. He captures Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, in one of the latter's attempts to check Welsh forays. Since Henry IV has made no effort to ransom Mortimer, the wily Glendower contrives to have the nobleman to marry his daughter and join forces against the English king. Neither the bride nor the bride room can understand the language of the other. The Welsh sought this union in order to link Wales with the nobility of England. The fiery young

Henry Perch (Hotspur) has been captured along with Mortimer. In a speech to this rash person who dares to cross him, Glendower declares himself the possessor of strange, supernatural powers. Howspur scoffs at this declaration, of course, he being quite young and 'modern.' (1 Henry IV, iii, 1, lines 12-25):

"Glen.....at my nativity
The front of heaven was full of diery shapes.
Of burning cressets; and at my birth
The frame and huge foundation of the earth
Shaked like a coward.
Hot. Why, so it would have done at the same season
if your mother's cat had but kittened,..."

Glendower's boast could not have seemed as far-fetched to the Elizabethan audience. Hotspur's attitude of complete disbelief was either ahead of his time or lacking in sincerity. It is evident that the chieftain handles the English language well; there is evidence of his statement being true that he was brought up at the court in London. He has been touched in a rather tender spot and proves he is quick to anger in some instances as he replies (1 Henry IV, iii, 1, lines 121-130):

Glend. I can speak English, lord, as well as you;
For I was tran'd up in the English court;
Where being but young, I framed to the harp
Many an English ditty lovely well
And gave the tongue a helpful ornament,
A virtue that was never seen in you.
Hotspur. ..And I am glad of it with all my heart...
I had rather hear a brazen canstick turn'd,
Or a dry wheel grate on the axle-tree;
And that would set my teeth nothing on edge,
Nothing so much as minicing poetry:¹
'Tis like the forced gait of a shuffling nag.

1. Shakespeare is probably airing some of his opinions on poetry.

His victories and quick disappearances had already caused many of the English to believe in his magical powers; his speech and manners are almost enough to convince Hotspur of his poetic ability. Mortimer adds to the glory of his father-in-law in seeking to reveal his worthiness to Hotspur. (ib.iii,1)

"Mort. In faith, he is a worthy gentleman,
Exceedingly well read, and profited

....

.....

In strange concealments, valiant as a lion
And wondrous affable and as bountiful
As mines of India. Shall I tell you, cousin?
He holds your temper in high respect
And curbs himself even of his natural scope
When you come cross his humour;"

It is tribute to Glendower's breeding that he is able to refrain from violence in the face of Hotspur's insults. It is also quite evident that the English, through Shakespeare, do not hesitate to assert that whatever culture the Welsh may possess was acquired in England and not in Wales.

Fluellen, in Shakespeare's King Henry V, appears to be brave, patriotic, loyal, honorable, and high-spirited. He expresses pride in the exploits of his countrymen and proudly wears the leek. The incidents of the play bear out the evidence of his loyalty and great personal bravery (not including his rough handling of Pistol), but the significant feature in his appearing throughout the play is the attitude of the English toward him. Gower scolds Pistol for his poking fun at a man of such worth, and Fluellen forces the braggart to eat part of the leek he has been wearing. It is plausible to look upon Gower as one element of the English people schodding another (Pistol) for that sort of senseless, useless and insulting

fun-making (Henry V, v, 1).

Mr. Harries calls Sir Hugh Evans "a shrewd, homely, Bible-loving Welshman."¹ His affair with Dr. Caius, in The Merry Wives of Windsor, reveals that he will not take too many insults before laying aside the dignity of his parson's cloak and, by force, commanding the respect due him. In this respect he is somewhat like Fluellen.

There is a bit of Welsh humor in Sir Hugh's manner of turning-the-tables on the Host, who has duped the two would-be combatants.

Like Fluellen, Sir Hugh speaks English with a distinct Welsh accent. Evidently the English found the language extremely odd and amusing; there is no Irish or Scotch distortion in any of the plays of Shakespeare. There is the broken English of Dr. Caius, the Frenchman, however.

The fact that Sir Hugh was a Welsh parson who served as schoolmaster in an English community is significant. There are so many of his idiosyncracies well known to various other people in the play--so many tiny details of his life--that he seems to be a real person, more so than many of Shakespeare's characters. He is a man of truth; peace-loving, pedantic, simple, and kind-hearted. Says Hazlitt, "The Welsh parson is an excellent character in all respects."² He is fond of helping people to mind their business; he loves to enjoy a dinner at a neighbor's expense, and his fondness for cheese, especially in the form of Welsh rarebits, is a highlight of the play.

1. Harries, F. J. Shakespeare and the Welsh, p.65

2. Ibid., p.153

From these observations rather clear-cut conclusions may be drawn, on the attitude of the English toward the Welsh of Shakespeare's day:

The attitude of the English toward the Welsh has two aspects. There were some Englishmen, like Pistol, who thought they were all ridiculous and uncivilized. There were dramatists of Shakespeare's time who considered the Welsh quite dishonest. They may have based their belief on the old Anglo-Saxon tale of a Welshman named Taffy¹ who was widely known as a master thief. Beaumont and Fletcher considered anyone dishonest who spoke Welsh.² The word "welsh", meaning to cheat or to defraud, is found in the English dictionary. Whether the Welsh are guilty of it or not, the English dramatists seem to present them as being without any well-developed sense of humor--along with their other short-comings.

On the other hand, there are those who sing their praises quite loudly, as being noble warriors and loyal supporters of English enterprise. Jonson's For the Honour of Wales, is a play which ends with a long speech by the character, Griffith, who tells of "The manifold virture" of the Welsh people. In regard to praising the Welsh, Fripp has this to say of Shakespeare:³

"He praised Welsh music, Welsh valour, and, remarkable for an Englishman, Welsh 'trustiness'. (Richard II, ii.4,5.) No (other) English poet has shown greater respect for the Welshman, or has more freely laughed at him; and he did not do either merely to please the Tudor Queen. Once in her presence he ventured on a Welsh expression, 'Gate Why! ' (Bless you!)."

1. Ibid., p.66

2. Ibid., p 69

3. Fripp, Edgar I., Shakespeare Man and Artist, Vol. I, p.3

In general, it appears that most Englishmen seemed to enjoy poking fun at Welsh oddities--at such things as the language they used in Wales as well as the Welsh use of English--but they respected the bravery, physical strength, and native intelligence of these people. They were accepted into the English life and as members of English communities where they were looked upon more or less favorably as fellow citizens of the Realm, in most instances. They were most often regarded as social equals, inter-marriages were not unusual, and Sir Hugh Evans was welcome at the tables of nearly all those Englishmen who trusted him to teach their children. The nobility of both England and Wales were part of the same royal family, and in more than one instance, the English ruler was of direct Welsh descent. The single exception, where Welsh were excluded from any part of Elizabethan England, is the case of the real Dr. Caius¹ who expressly stipulated that no Welshman should share the fellowships established by him at Cambridge one year before the accession of Elizabeth.

1. Stokes, F. G., Shakespeare Dictionary "Welsh" defined, note: "It is a singular fact that Dr. John Caius who re-founded Gonville Hall, Cambridge, in 1557, expressly excluded Welshmen from holding fellowships there." This may be explained, in part, by a statement in the speech by Prince of Wales (Chapter XIX, p.5) "crowds" of Welshmen who "flocked to Medieval Oxford."

CHAPTER V

Friendly Admiration and Respect in the Attitudes toward Foreigners Reflected in Elizabethan Drama

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Very few critics will grant that the Elizabethans ever admired a foreigner from any nation whatever. The usual opinion is that expressed by Salzman¹, "their highest praise for any alien being to say that 'he might be taken for an Englishman.'" However, L. B. Wright has penetrated beneath the shallow surface of generality in this respect to make the following concession:²

"The play (Smith's The Hector of Germany) was a success--the certain destiny of any stage piece which could so completely express current prejudices by glorifying English and German prowess and deriding Spaniards and Frenchmen."

Here the writer has made a distinction in favor of the Germans. But it is the purpose of this chapter to go even beyond Wright; to illustrate by means of the drama, that Elizabethans held certain alien groups in high esteem. Through evidence from the drama of the period it appears that the aliens whose presence in England was honored with respect or admiration were the Russians, Danes, Germans, and Italians.

1. Russians

There were very few Russians in Sixteenth century England. Those whose presence is recorded were persons of high estate--princes and noblemen, usually representatives of Imperial authority. The few who did appear are associated with the drama of

1. Salzman, L. F., England in Tudor Times, p. 10

2. Wright, L. B., Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England, p. 626

the period:

"The appearance of the King and his courtiers before the Princess of France appparelled 'like Muscovites or Russians' (Love's Labour's Lost, v.2) was probably suggested by the arrival in London of the Russian Ambassador, Pissemsky and a large suite, with orders to bring back with him a relative of the Queen's to be the Czar's wife."¹

J. D. Rogers² gives a kaleidoscopic view of Shakespeare's world and, incidentally, the position of Russia in that rather circumscribed sphere of dramatic activity:

"Poland, whose frontiers varied perpetually, passed in popular estimation for the eastern-most Christian power, because its king fought against Turks, and it was in communion with Rome and used Latin as its offician language. In 1569 Poland reached the Baltic on its north, followed, crossed and recrossed the Dnieper on its east, and all but touched the Black Sea on its south. Of his three east-European plays, Hamlet is localized at Helsingor in Denmark, Measure for Measure at Vienna, and the ship in Winter's Tale 'touched upon the deserts of Bohemia.' Other countries are mentioned incidentally: in Measure for Measure, Hungary, where there are wars, and Poland, whither the Duke pretends to go; in Hamlet, Norway, which did not extend its civilization to its furthest bounds, was the northern or north-western frontier of Shakespeare's Europe. Like every Elizabethan, he was familiar with the 'Muscovites or Russians' (Love's Labour's Lost, v.2,121), however he may have placed them geographically...The Chinese point of view was described by a great Italian Jesuit traveller, Matteo Ricci...announced that China was really and indeed Marco Polo's Cathay."

It is generally agreed that the appearance of Russians in Shakespeare's play alludes to their presence in England at that time. On this matter Furness³ offers comment:

"A masque of Muscovites was no uncommon recreation at court long before our author's time. In the first year

1. Stokes, F. G., Shakespeare Dictionary, p. 286

2. Rogers, J. D., in Shakespeare's England, i. pp. 172-173

3. Furness, H. H., "Love's Labour's Lost," Variorum Shakespeare, p. 243

of King Henry the Eighth, at a banquet made for the foreign ambassadors in the parliament-chamber at Westminster; 'came the lorde Henry, Earle of Wiltshire, and the lorde Fitzwater, in two long gounes of yellowe satin travarsed with white satin after the fashion of Russia or Ruslande, with fumed hattes of grey on their hedes, either of them havying an hatchet in their hands and bootes with pykes turned up'-- Hall, Henry VIII. We believe that the introduction of Russians was due to more recent occurrences."

In his final statement, Furness concurs with the general opinion which associates the alien visitors with a scene in Love's Labour's Lost. The lines (v.2) are complimentary to the Russians:

Queen. But what, but what, come they to visit us?
 Boy. They do, they do; and are apparell'd thus,
 Like Muscovites, or Russians, as I gesse.
 Their purpose is to parlee, to court and dance,
 And every one his Love-seat will advance,

The costumes were probably very attractive and perhaps were intended even to flatter the Russians, before whom the play may have been enacted.

In The Winter's Tale (iii.2) Hermione is the daughter of a great Russian King.

The Russian bear, mentioned in Macbeth (iii.4) and in Henry V (iii.7), is a creature of great power; as such, the animal may represent an allusion to or a symbol of Russian might.

2. Danes

According to Cunningham,¹ the Danes were an "intruded element in the English stock." The fact remains that the Elizabethan was justified in claiming Danish ancestry. A Danish king occupied the thrones of England and Denmark from 1017 to 1035. For hundreds of years after the reign of King Canute, Danes came seldom to England; only the name of an occasional visitor or diplomatic representative is found among the records, until about 1695. At that time, five or six thousand Danes immigrated to be settled principally at Yorkshire. During the latter part of the sixteenth century and the early part of the seventeenth, there existed peaceful diplomatic and commercial relations between the countries. An account from Harrison's Journals² reveals a recognized--and practical admitted--sense of cultural inferiority on the part of the English nobility:

"(July, 1602) Now that a treaty is proposed between her Majesty and the King of Denmark and some Princes of the Empire, the Lord Eure is chosen to be the principal commissioner, which his Lordship would put from him, declaring that by long discontinuance from the Court he is disfurnished of such courtly respects as fitteth a messenger to so worthy a Princess. Further, the affairs of the country and delights have withdrawn him from the practice and exercise of languages and have long deprived him of the society of men of that quality, so that he can neither deliver Message or entertain discourse with foreigners in any language save English; nor will his estate afford him means in so short a time except her Majesty furnish him with more than her ordinary allowance to men of her rank. To all of which answer is returned that the Queen cannot allow of my Lord's declining from this intended meeting; and from his lack of

1. Cunningham, W., Alien Immigrants in England, p. 4

2. Harrison, G. B., The Elizabethan Journals, iii. pp. 290-1

language and pretending to be unprovided of compliments, she answereth that it need no better answer than this, that a nobleman of England that seen France and Italy need never doubt to meet the best Dane or German in any place of Europe."

The Queen grants that her subjects need the polish of travel abroad in order to "meet the best Dane or German"-- at least that is one way to interpret the preceding reference.

Harrison also records the printing of Shakespeare's Hamlet, just two days before the treaty with Denmark was proposed:

"26th July (1602). Roberts the printer hath entered for printing that play of Lord Chamberlain's Men called The Revenge of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, which they played of late, written by Shakespeare, a play that hath in it much to please the wiser sort."¹

But things did not turn out to suit the satisfaction of all parties concerned. The ship of diplomacy foundered;

"22nd November (1602). The Commissioners at Bremen complain that though the Danes at their first meeting entertained them with fair speeches and protested their desire for amity with her Majesty, yet such vehement debates, contradictions and deceptions have fallen out between them that little good is to be expected. The commissioners for the King of Denmark utterly refuse a perfect league and amity between the two kingdoms. After three weeks had been vainly consumed they sent our commissioners two papers, one claiming the dominion of the Great Ocean and inhibiting our nation to fish or use any trade without license, the other a declaration against our nation for spoils committed on the seas and want of justice in England, preferring the justice of the Dunkirkers before ours."²

Sir Walter Raleigh links Hamlet with the Denmark negotiations, and quotes from Stow's Annals before advancing his own opinions. An English ambassador at the Court in Copenhagen was responsible for the following account of his visit:

1. Ibid., iii. p. 290

2. Ibid., iii. p. 307

"To be brief it was superfluous to tell you all the superfluities that were used, and it would make a man sick to hear of their drunken healths: use hath brought it into fashion, and fashion made it a habit, which ill becomes our nation to imitate."¹

Raleigh continues his own comment:

"The most significant of Shakespeare's speeches against drunkenness is spoken by Hamlet, while he is waiting to see the Ghost (i.4, 8-20):"

Hamlet. The king doth wake to-night and takes his rouse,
Keeps wassail, and the swaggering up-spring reels;
And, as he drains his draughts of Rhenish down,
The kettle-drum and trumpet thus bray out
The triumph of his pledge.

Horatio. Is it a custom?

Hamlet. Ay, marry, is't:

But to my mind, though I am native here
And to the manner born, it is a custom
More honour'd in the breach than the observance.
This heavy-headed revel east and west
Makes us traduced and tax'd of other nations:
They clepe us drunkards, and with swinish phrase
Soil our addition...

Raleigh makes an additional observation-that there were certain of the preceding lines omitted later, because they came near censuring the vice at the court of Danish Queen Anne.

Danes share the reputation for intemperance with the Dutch, Flemings, and Germans. Iago's statement (Othello, ii.3) may serve as a sweeping accusation which has led to the inclusion of Englishmen.

The Danes appear on the stage as a noble people. There is no ridicule or vilification of them beyond the moralizing which Raleigh attempts to give purpose (on the matter of drinking).²

1. Raleigh, Sir W., Shakespeare's England, i. pp. 16-17

2. If Shakespeare is really preaching here against drunkenness, his sermon was probably (possibly) directed against James VI later to become James I of England, for that monarch had a reputation for this intemperance.

When Claudius sends orders telling what England must do at his word (iv.4), it appears as if the dramatist is flattering the Danes in allowing Danish authority to dominate from the English stage:

King. And, England, if my love thou hold'st at aught--
As my great power thereof may give thee sense,
Since yet thy cicatrice looks raw and red
After the Danish sword, and thy free awe
Pays homage to us--

Of the several occasions where the name "Dane" is mentioned, only once is it even indirectly derogatory. That instance is in iv.5, when Gertrude speaks of the rabble as "false Danish dogs." On the other hand, one of the most complimentary is in Claudius' speech to Laertes (i.2):

Claudius. You cannot speak of reason to the Dane,
And lose your voice; what wouldst thou beg, Laertes,

According to this speech, the Dane is generous and considerate, even though the actions of Claudius most often belie his words.

Macbeth also offers additional material which appears in some respects to compliment the Danes. The play follows the Holinshed account in many details, and the Norwegians, led by King Sweno, are referred to as "Danes" quite often. Mention is made (i.2) of the "Norwegian ranks." The invaders are regarded as noble and valiant soldiers. Furness quotes Holinshed¹ who makes the association of "Dane" with "Norwegian," and he links Macbeth with Danish-English relations still further:²

"In July, 1606, the King of Denmark came to England on a visit to his sister, Queen Anne, and on the third of August was installed a Knight of the Garter. 'There is

1. Furness, H. H., A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare, p. 361

2. Ibid., p. 383

nothing to be heard at court', says Drummond of Hawthornden in a letter dated on that day, 'but sounding of trumpets, hautboys, musick, revellings and comedies'. Perhaps during this visit Macbeth was first exhibited."

The evidence is meager. There is no sign of hatred; the few characters of Hamlet are chiefly noble, cultured individuals who are destroyed by their own excesses of passion. The few Danes known to Elizabethans were probably respected as were the German nobility to whom they were related, for they had the protection of the Crown.

3. Germans

It seems as though the Elizabethans made a distinction between the Germans and the other closely related Teutons--especially the Flemings, Walloons and Dutch. Perhaps it is this distinction which is responsible for the Germans' occupying what appears to be a place of greater respect and admiration on the part of the sixteenth century Englishmen. There were several classes of German aliens who came to England during the period: principally these were the merchants, pedlars, lower-class nobility, learned men--scientists and philosophers--and members of the nobility including the German royal family, and Protestant refugees of all levels. The chief distinction may have its foundation in the fact that seldom were there any Germans listed as vagabonds or beggars. In this sense, too, the name "German" is found associated with drunkenness less frequently than is the name "Dutch." There were circumstances in the history of the period which seem to give a valid accounting for this distinction.

As early as the thirteenth century there were German miners in England, Later, Henry VIII sought their services to develop the mines of England and Ireland. In 1528, German Joachim Hechstetter was made surveyor and master of all mines in England and Ireland. He brought over six Germans with him to erect smelting houses in that year.¹ His son Daniel became Royal Master

1. Cunningham, W., Alien Immigrants in England, p. 123

of Mines in 1571. Among the laborers were refugees or descendants of the immigrants who came over during the reign of Edward VI:

"King Edward VI, acting on the impression made by one of Latimer's sermons, granted the use of the Austin Friars Church for the German refugees, and nominated a Pole, John A'Lasco, as their superintendent. The congregation were to be allowed to use their own rites and ceremonies, and to enjoy their own ecclesiastical discipline, though these were not in accordance with the order established in the realm. In the time of Queen Mary they completely dispersed...but when Elizabeth ascended the throne, a considerable number returned to the land of their adoption."¹

From the Germans themselves accounts have come down of their reception in Elizabethan England. The famous court of Queen Elizabeth attracted a number of famous foreigners. Frederick, Duke of Wurtemberg complains of the "insularity" of Englishmen, after his visit in 1592:²

"The inhabitants are magnificently apparelled and are extremely proud and overbearing, and because the greater part, especially the tradesmen, seldom go into other countries, but always remain in houses in the City attending to their business, they care little for foreigners but scoff and laugh at them, and moreover one dare not oppose them, else, the street boys and apprentices collect together in immense crowds, striking to the right and left unmercifully without regarding the person, and because they are the strongest one is obliged to put up with insult as well as injury."

Barring encounters with the apprentices, the Duke had a rather enjoyable visit. History indicates a haughty German nobility which may have deserved the mistreatment received at the hands of Englishmen at a time when the Renaissance spirit was a more or less democratic spirit. Had there been any great danger involved, the Duke would have been more than merely discomfited.

1. Ibid., pp. 147-148

2. Kent, William, Encyclopedia of London, p. 331

Johannes de Witt, a priest of St. Mary's in Utrecht came in 1596. He attended the dramatic performance at the Swan Theatre, and his account of this experience is concerned much more with the theatre than with the churches which were the primary objects of his visit.

Elizabeth was sixty-five years old when the German jurist, Paul Hentzner, saw her in 1598. His description of her is one of the most vivid.¹ There is no prejudice to be detected in his story, so it may be safe to conclude that he had been well-received. He describes her as

"...very majestic; her face oblong, fair but wrinkled, her eyes small yet black and pleasing; her nose a little hooked, her lips narrow and her teeth black (a defect the English seem subject to from their great use of sugar); she had in her ears two pearls with very rich drops; her hair was of an auburn color, but false; upon her head she had a small crown; her bosom was uncovered as all the English ladies have it till they marry; and she had on a necklace of exceeding fine jewels, her hands were slender and her stature neither tall nor low; her air was stately, her manner of speaking mild and obliging."

Thomas Platter² of Basle (border, southern Germany, northern Switzerland) attended a performance of Julius Caesar on September 21, 1599 (probably at the Globe). Although he knew but little English at that time, he commented favorably on the acting. He tells of another show which he saw, and the account has special significance here because it reveals something of the attitude of the English toward Germans as interpreted from the stage:

1. Ibid., p. 331

2. Ibid., p. 332

"In this comedy (he never names it) all kinds of different nations are presented, with whom an Englishman fights the whole time for a damsel. He overcomes them all except the German, who wins the damsel by fighting. The German then sits himself down beside her and drinks her health with his servants in a tremendous draught. When the two are fuddled, the servant throws his boot at the head of the master and he and the girl make off together. At this point the Englishman reappears and robs the German of his booty, thus outwitting him."

If this really is what he saw, it reveals respect for German valor and physical prowess. The German custom of heavy drinking is represented as a fault, while "superior intelligence" enables the Englishman to emerge the victor, of course.

Platter comments further on the new English art of Smoking:¹

"...at comedies, in taverns and elsewhere, they light up and commence to inhale, passing round the pipe to each other as we do wine till they become merry and silly as if they were drunk."

In 1610 the Prince of Wurtemberg, son of Duke Frederick, came to London. At the Globe Theatre, on April 30, he saw Othello presented.

The Duke of Saxe-Weimar came in 1613. He saw the famous waxworks which were on exhibition at that time, and his observations on that collection follow:

"Queen Elizabeth in a red velvet gown with sceptre and crown, Henry VII and his queen, Henry V, also with his queen who came from France, Edward III and his queen, a German and a very little person."

It may have been a worthwhile representation of a German and not a caricature in wax. There may be some significance attached to the fact that a German was represented in the group--

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1. Ibid., p. 332. It is noteworthy that most of the foreigners listed by Kent as visitors and chroniclers are German.
 2. Ibid., p. 332

if such were really a fact. Any association with other members of that illustrious group was an honor.

In 1502, Philip Julius, Duke of Pommerin-Stettin visited the English theatre. His account of the plays and other spectacles of London indicate that his stay was enjoyable.

On the other hand, and nearer to the present purpose, the English chroniclers present the German in about the same light as that in which the German visitor pictures the Englishman--with the good as well as the bad traits which appear characteristic of him. A typical evaluation is that of the cosmopolitan, John Barclay (in his novel of satire, Euphormionis Lusinini Satyricon). Waterhouse¹ summarizes his opinions:

"...has little parise to bestow on the people of Germany (Boeotia). He says they are more capable of manual than of intellectual work, somewhat stupid and violently addicted to drink--a vice, then as now, characteristic of almost any country except one's own. A chapter in his later work, Icon Animorum (1614), is openly devoted to a discussion of Germany and the Germans. Their stolidity and vanity are held up to derision, but great emphasis is laid on their honesty and sound common-sense."

It is fairly clear, then, that the German foreigner's reception in England was influenced by two sides of the general estimation of him--the complimentary and the uncomplimentary. The drama affords evidence of both.

There are plays, characters and allusions which reflect every undesirable trait mentioned here as being typical of Germans;

1. Waterhouse, G., The Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Seventeenth Century, p.5

In The Merry Wives of Windsor, there is Portia's description of a German prince (i.2):

Nerissa. How like you the young German, the Duke of Saxony's nephew?

Portia. Very vilely in the morning, when he is sober, and most vilely in the afternoon, when he is drunk: when he is best, he is a little worse than a man, and when he is worst, he is little better than a beast: and the worst fall that ever fell, I hope I shall make shift to go without him.

She presents the picture of a debauched nobleman. Even at his best, to Portia he is beastly. She does not say why, exactly.

As to the charge of drunkenness, Iago counters with praise of such intemperance (Othello, ii.3). Heavy drinking, from his point of view is an art to be cultivated. An accusation of drunkenness on the part of an Elizabethan nobleman carried with it a kind of manly boastfulness, rather than any derogatory reproof. There is a distinction made by Iago which seems more or less significant:

Iago. I learned it in England, where, indeed, they are most potent in potting: your Dane, your German, and your swag-bellied Hollander--Drink, ho!--are nothing to your English.

It seems that "swag-bellied" gives a derisive aspect to "Hollander" (a Dutchman). There is nothing necessarily disrespectful in the mention of the other two names. The idea appears emphasized further in Iago's very next speech:

Iago. Why, he drinks you, with facility (the Englishman), your Dane dead drunk; he sweats not to overthrow your Almain; he gives your Hollander a vomit, ere the next pottle can be filled.

The Archbishop of Canterbury in Henry V (1.2) speaks historically of German women;

Archbishop. Who, holding in disdain the German women
For some dishonest manners of their life
Establish'd then this law; to wit, no female
Should be inheritrix in Salique land;

There may be an inference here that German women have merited a place of inferiority because of sins of the past. From the English stage, such a belief may have helped to prejudice the audience against German women. 3 Henry VI, iv. 8; Shakespeare speaks of the hasty Germans.

But the German was often complimented, too, from the Elizabethan stage:

In The Merry Wives of Windsor (iv.3), foreigners who were able to demand such treatment were definitely respected and were not received as inferiors:

Bardolph. Sir, the Germans desire to have three of your horses: the duke himself will be tomorrow at court, and they are going to meet him.
Host. What duke¹ should that be comes so secretly? I hear not of him in the court. Let me speak with the gentleman: They speak English?
Bardolph. Ay, sir; I'll call them to you.
Host. They shall have my horses; but I'll make them pay; I'll sauce them; they have had my house a week at command; I have turned away my other guests...

Such guests were evidently granted special privileges by the Crown.² The people respected them, and evidently the Germans took great advantage of the authority granted them over the "boorish Englishmen." There should be hardly any wonder why the Duke of Wurtemberg had learned to fear the London apprentices if

1. This duke was none other than Duke Friedrich of Wurtemberg, states Waterhouse (Ibid., p.1)

2. Harries, F. J., Shakespeare and the Welsh, p. 148. "In 1593

he adopted the same attitude toward them as that which his three countrymen maintained in dealing with the Host.

They are called "gentlemen" by the Host; they speak English; they have had exclusive use of his house for a week. These are indications of high--and perhaps greatly abused--privileges granted to persons whose superiority is fully recognized and only naturally resented.

Barclay's account, already quoted here, mentions Germans as being honest and endowed with solid commonsense. His statement is echoed in the lines of the Host (The Merry Wives of Windsor iv. 5):

Bardolph. They threw me off...and set spurs and away, like three German devils, three doctor Faustuses.

Host. They are gone to meet the duke, villain; do not say they be fled; Germans be honest men.

Marlowe's Tragical History of Doctor Faustus presents Germans from all levels of society, and not one appears in the light of stupidity or inferiority. Faustus himself is born of "parents base in stock, in Germany." Through his industry and ability he rises to fame. While meditating on means of exceeding all human accomplishment (i.1), he has occasion to speak of his "dearest friends, "the German Valdes and Cornelius. "Dearest friends" would have hardly have been used in this manner on Marlowe's stage with reference to a Spaniard--not even Doctor Faustus would have dared such an affront to Elizabethans.

The Duke of Wurtemberg visited England as Count Mompelgard; visited the queen; He remained a month in the country--was granted the right to requisition post-horses free; He pompously made the most of it -caused much dislike matter of London gossip; basis for humour of Act iv, 3.

Again, he speaks of his German friends and desires their "sage conference."

The Emperor of Germany is a noble figure (iv.1). There is no ridicule in Faustus' speech to him. He claims Alexander the Great as one of his ancestors. Marlowe's play should have in no way lowered the German in the Elizabethan estimation with representations of this type.

Further evidence of Doctor Faustus' impressiveness on the Elizabethan mind has already been noted in Bardolph's "three German devils, three Doctor Faustuses," (M.W.W., iv.5). The fear he inspired may have helped to insure respect and awe in the attitude of common Englishmen for the scientists and other learned Germans.

Greene's Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay may be classed with Marlowe's Faustus as a tribute to German intellectual powers:

The Emperor expresses deep interest in English universities (ii.1,43). He refers to his intellectual champion, Jacques Vandermast, "a German born, pass'd into Padua," as a "learned clerk!"

Vandermast speaks for himself, and he seems to infer that the English were held in contempt by the Germans who considered themselves more thoroughly learned. He responds with skepticism to his monarch's praise of the English scene.

Vandermast. That lordly are the buildings of the town,
Spacious the rooms, and full of pleasant walks;
But for the doctors, how that they be learned,
It may be meanly, for aught I hear.

His words constitute a challenge which Greene's able representative, Friar Bacon, readily accepts. In the match of magic and wisdom, the English are victorious and the audience is satisfied to the extent that a good German is still not a great--perhaps--as a good Englishman. Bacon soothes the sting of defeat for the champion of German Frederick and promises to entertain the Emperor royally. The English appeared vaguely to realize they were flattering themselves by allowing such a complete intellectual victory over Germany, even on the stage.¹

Henry Chettle's Hoffman (c.1614) is an historical effort, extremely bloody, which presents nobles of Prussia, Saxony and Austria on stage. There is no ridicule, but actual splendor, with courtly intrigue is represented. There is a thrust at the French (iv.2):

Hoffman (throws himself on the Duke's body) Oh,
that French doctor!
Lorick. Ay, that worst of hell!

There is no disparagement of Germans in this play.

One of the most notable instances of dramatic flattery for Germans is Wentworth Smith's Hector of Germanie. L. B. Wright comments on the significance of it:²

"Of slightly different color was Wentworth Smith's The Hector of Germany, or the Palsgrave, Prime Elector (c.1615), which was acted 'at the Red-Citie.' The dramatization of a heroic German prince was intended as an

1. Hazelton Spencer (introduction to "Doctor Faustus," Elizabethan Plays) says that Greene's Friar Bacon was the Francis Bacon of Elizabeth's court, renowned for his scientific and philosophic exploits. Of him the English were justly proud.
2. Wright, L. B., Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England, pp. 625-626

expression of the enthusiasm of the citizens of London over the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the Protestant Elector of the Palatinate. Though the prologue denies that the play has any relation to recent events, the disavowal only strengthens the impression that the 'men of trade' who performed the play took this means of paying a compliment to the couple whom Protestant Londoners, especially, regarded as protagonists of the ideals for which they were at that moment ready to fight. The play was a success--the certain destiny of any stage piece which could so completely express current prejudices by glorifying English and German prowess and deriding Spaniards and Frenchmen."

The very first lines find the hero, Palsgrave,

"Sicke at this instant now to be infirme

When the English king hath his kinde letter sent:"

emphasizing friendly relations with the Germans. This continues throughout, with occasional disparagement of France and Spain.

The weight of evidence favors an attitude of admiration and respect for Germans of all classes. In Doctor Faustus, the low-born rises to great prominence and power. The friendly relations of the royal houses is revealed everywhere. The opinions of John Barclay are verified: The Elizabethan stage German has bad traits as well as good, but even his worst is no more terrible than anything to be found in an Englishman's make-up. At his worst, the middle-class German usually becomes simply "a Dutchman" in the eyes of the Elizabethan, it seems. The drama also reveals that the English realized that the Germans considered themselves intellectually superior. Resentment of and revenge for this insult accompanied the recognition of it--in the drama, until 1914.

4. Italians

Drayton writes of the "Italianate Englishman" in his Heroical Epistles (1597):

Some travell hence t'enrich their minds with skill
 Leave here their good, and bring home others ill;
 Which seeme to like all Countries but their owne,
 Affecting most where they the least are knowne.
 Their leg, their thigh, their back, their neck, their
 head,
 There form' their fetch'd, there found, there borrowed.
 In their attire, their jesture, and their gate,
 fond in each one, in all Italianate,
 Italian, French, Dutch, Spanish altogether,
 Yet not all these, nor one entirely neyther.
 So well in all deformity of fashion,
 Borrowing a limne of ev'ry severall Nation;
 And nothing more than England hold in scorne,
 So live as strangers whereas they are borne.

The expression was currently used "in a depreciatory sense, especially with reference to the imitation of Italian fashions and morals by English countiers in the sixteenth century."¹ Drayton's satirical attack was mild compared to that of many of his contemporaries who deplored the practice of Italian imitation:

Lord Burleigh warned his son, "for they shall learn nothing there but pride, blasphemy and atheism."²

George Gascoigne exclaimed: "O Italy academy of manslaughter, the sporting place of murder, the apothecary shop of all nations! How many kinds of weapons has thou invented for malice!"

Italy had been the center of virtue for many years, but in the sixteenth century, under the influence of foreign interference

1. The Oxford Unabridged Dictionary

2. Einstein, L., The Italian Renaissance in England, p. 160

and control, virtue became vice. It had been the custom for Englishmen to travel abroad for polish--to acquire culture and refinement in France and Italy which were ahead of England in the "arts of civilized life." When manners and morality became lewd and loose in the late sixteenth century, the English dandy returned in a worse condition than he had left, to bring home nothing but mere affectation, infidelity, and "vicious conversation."

The new Italian manners were carried to such an extreme that the better aspects of Italian culture were no longer consciously appreciated. This circumstance was regrettable, since Italian influence was largely responsible for the culture development of Renaissance England, and there had been a time when this influence was fully appreciated. Einstein¹ presents a concise picture of the situation:

"In all, three stages can be discerned in the history of the Italian influence in England during the period of the Renaissance. The First, extending to the end of the fifteenth century, found a centre at the University of Oxford. It succeeded, after several attempts, in introducing the new classical and scientific learning of Italy into England, and thereby laid the foundation for all future English scholarship. The second and third epochs embrace respectively the two halves of the sixteenth century. The growth of Italian culture at court marked the former; it flourished there under royal protection, and assisted in creating the new types of accomplished courtier and learned traveller, often the same individual under different aspects. The third and last period witnessed a great extension of the Italian influence, as it spread gradually from the court to the people at large. At the same time, the moral and national reaction against Italy, which was further fostered by the growth of Puritanism, put an end to much of this influence."

1. Ibid., p. viii

The deluge of invective poured upon the Italianate Englishman was directed also at foreigners, and, according to Einstein, especially at Italian aliens. Petruccio Ubaldini writes that it was dangerous to travel without a royal pass in England (1590's), although William Thomas, also of that time, denies the accusation. Italians as representatives of the Pope at Rome certainly were not very welcome in all quarters of the realm. The attitude of general antipathy toward Italian customs and their imitation is to be found reflected in some plays of the period:

Marlowe's *Gaveston*, in *Edward II* is a despicable, foppish, foolish, inconsiderate rascal.

In *Richard II* (ii.1), Shakespeare's Duke of York says:

The open ear of youth doth always listen;
Report of fashions in proud Italy,
Whose manners still our tardy apism nation
Limps after in base imitation.

Marlowe calls his Barabas a "Machiavel," a name which became a byword for treachery, tyranny, and terror. Faustus and Tamburlaine are also creatures of death, dread, power and conflict.

John Webster's Italian murderers in *The Duchess of Malfi* and in *The White Devil*, are cruel, cold-blooded, and heartless, representing some of the dangers to which the travelling Englishman might be exposed.

But often the same critics contradict themselves after declaring vehemently that Elizabethans hated all foreigners; that nothing about foreigners was ever admired by Englishmen; that it was not safe for aliens to travel or to live in England. Einstein

expresses a belief in the attitude of hatred for all foreigners, especially Italian, but he offers also the following comment:¹

"At the same time its end (end of fifteenth; beginning of the sixteenth century) marked likewise the end of a certain stage in the commercial relations between England and Italy, when Italians no longer looked upon England as a country to be merely exploited, but as a land in which they could settle, acquire citizenship and justly take pride."

Such contradictions give rise to doubts as to whether the implications of an old Italian proverb were meant to indicate that Italian aliens in England were hated just because Englishmen did not like their manners which other Englishmen brought home. This doubt is an incentive for investigation, for the following questions deserve to be answered: Were Italian aliens actually ill-treated by Elizabethans because they represented the despicable Italianate ideal of imitation? Were all Italianate Englishmen who continued at the Court scorned by those who remained purely conservative? Did the dramatists join the Puritans in attacking Italianate excesses? Does the drama of the Age of Shakespeare reflect serious disparagement which was intended to insult the alien Italian for the entertainment of the English?

Records which tell of such aliens in England reveal no type of persecution even nearly approximating that of the terrible Inquisition. One Italian, Busino, chaplain and intendant general of the household of Piero Contarini, the Venetian ambassador to King James' court considered Londoners rather brutal in the treatment of foreigners:

"Busino had reason to take the same view as the Duke of Wurtemberg of the treatment of foreigners. He saw a Spaniard assaulted and belaboured with a cabbage stalk, and obliged to seek refuge in a shop."

1. Ibid., p. 241

2. Kent, Wm., Encyclopedia of London, p. 332

But this "severity" in the attitude toward aliens may be discounted. In the first place, the victim was a Spaniard; as such, his treatment was no more than to be expected. Secondly, a "cabbage stalk" does not sound like a deadly weapon. Finally, the person beaten found refuge in a nearby shop which in all probability was not operated by one of his own countrymen but by an Englishman.

There are records which reveal more kind treatment:

Harrison's Journals have entered the next account.¹

"10th May (1602). There is an Italian at Court that doth wonderful strange tricks upon the cards, as telling of any card that is thought, or changing one card from another though it be held by any man never so hard under his hand. The Queen gave him 200 crowns for showing his tricks, and divers gentlemen make meetings for him where he getteth sometimes 20, sometimes 40 crowns, and yet they say he spends it so strangely as he cannot keep a penny in his purse."

There were other Italians present who were not ill-treated.

L. B. Wright mentions one group.²

"...The study of Italian seems to have been regarded at first as a gentleman's exercise. Indeed, the necessity of English merchants' knowing Italian was not so pressing in the sixteenth century as it later became, for the Italian trade was largely in the hands of the Italians themselves, who sent traders to England in large numbers. Their need for helps to the English language was recognized by John Florio, who provided useful dialogues for them in Florio His First Fruites."

Nearly all musicians³ at Court were Italians, as were most of the physicians. Caesar Scacco, a Venetian, was the Queen's

1. Harrison, G. B., Elizabethan Journals, iii. p. 276-277

2. Wright, L. B., Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England, p. 363

3. An Italian musician, Rizzio, is listed among the lovers of beautiful Mary, Queen of Scots. He was murdered at her court in Scotland.

own doctor for a time. There exists evidence of the Queen's having favored these aliens royally. Thus they enjoyed, in reality, the good-will of the Crown and of the nobility, so it was left for the masses to express this displeasure which many chroniclers then and critics now complain of. This observation is significant; for, if only the masses maintained a hostile attitude toward the aliens, there would be little of this found in the drama, as the lower classes were in a very definite minority and were not too sympathetically handled on the Shakespearean stage.

In 1581 there sixty-six attending an Italian church in London. This information does not point to severe persecution.

Giordano Bruno, native of Nola (near Naples) and the greatest philosopher¹ of the sixteenth century, was welcomed at the court of Queen Elizabeth.

The relations between the countries is also significant in determining the attitudes of the English. If friendly relations existed, there is a strong probability that aliens were not severely ill-treated. Izaak Walton cites historical evidence of English sympathy in his *Lives*:²

"There had been many English souldiers brought by Commanders of their own Country, to serve the Venetians for pay against the Turk; and those English having by irregularities, or Improvidence, brought themselves into several Gallies and Prisons, Sir Henry Wotton became a Petitioner to that state for their Lives and Enlargement;"

A. H. Bullen³ records the sympathy of James I:

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1. Wright, W. K., A History of Modern Philosophy, p. 27
 2. Walton, Izaak, Lives, pp. 123-124 ("Life of Sir Henry Wotton")
 3. Bullen, A. H., Elizabethans, "Italian" note.

"Mr. T. S. Graves, in a paper on Pericles made out a strong case for his contention that the incident of the grain-ships brought by Pericles in a time of famine to the relief of Tarsus may be connected with James I's allowance (against Cecil's opposition) of the exportation of English grain to the Republic of Venice in 1607. From the Venetian State Papers he shows that the Venetian Ambassador, Zorzi Giustinian, used much patience and diplomatic skill in securing the shipment of this grain to the Republic, that was urgently pressing for it. At the trial of a later Venetian Ambassador, Foscari, in 1617, it was stated that 'Giustinian went with the French Ambassador and his wife to a play called Pericles...He also took the Secretary of Florence."

This evidence points toward a sympathetic England, ready to help any other nation against a common enemy. This point of view is especially conspicuous in the drama, and an analysis in this respect follows here in due course.

The next question involved in determining the real attitude toward Italians is "How were the Italianate-Englishmen actually received at Court?" From most indications it seems as if splendor of dress and other excesses were the order of the day. Raleigh and Essex seemed to have vied with each other for the title of "best-dressed man," and so on. Einstein presents this view of the situation:¹

"The Italianate Englishman, who followed Italian ways in everything, who admired no wisdom which did not come from across the Alps, who regulated his life to imitate the Italians, wrote no defence of himself. He who was accused of corrupting his native land by introducing foreign bices, paid no attention to the popular voice. His own position at court was secure from the fumes of moralists and the bitter attacks of pamphleteers. Some were even afraid to attack him; Harrison, for instance, in a rather general condemnation ended abruptly by refusing to say more about Italianates, lest he should offend too much."

And in the next paragraph he insists:

1. Einstein, L., The Italian Renaissance in England, pp. 173-4

"A hatred for everything foreign had long existed in the English mind, and the competition of Italians in commerce and trade only increased the dislike."

He states earlier that the commoners demonstrated their resentment violently against these aliens whom they held responsible for most English degeneracy.

With the rise of Puritanism, the type of drama produced by Shakespeare and his immediate fellows began to lose prominence. It seems as though the Puritans were their enemies because of the presence of Italian influence in their works. Any lewdness or unnecessary frankness was definitely in opposition to Puritan principles of restraint. The Puritans themselves were severely ridiculed by many Elizabethan dramatists. This circumstance alone does not mean that dramatists were on the side of the Italians, although there are some indications to that effect. The drama itself reveals where they stand on the matter. All Elizabethan dramatists came under the Italian influence. This circumstance creates a problem of selection in this present of analysis, since it is impossible for this work to examine a field so enormous in an area so limited. Shakespeare alone would be broad enough for this purpose of examining attitudes in the drama, but the opinions of at least a few other dramatists seem necessary:

Fourteen of Shakespeare's plays find their sources in Italian fiction. At least thirteen have their setting in Italian States. Several reveal a remarkable knowledge of Italy. Of this group, Othello and The Merchant of Venice are most noteworthy. Beautiful

word-pictures of the Italian scene are to be found in these plays. Whether they all were meant to be "merely London in masque attire," or not does not really matter. The Audience was entertained by means of things foreign which they and the dramatist obviously admired. The frequent mention and constant employment of these scenes, characters and allusions do not appear to be indications of aversion. Certainly an Anglicized Italian who attended a performance of The Merchant of Venice would not be insulted by the representation offered of his country.

An interpretation of Othello is presented by Lilian Winstanley. She regards it as a complete allegory signifying the "tragedy of Italy." She builds a fairly strong foundation of proof for her theory, basing her whole argument on English sympathy for Italy--particularly Venice--struggling against Spanish domination. There is the evidence already quoted here from Izaak Walton's Lives, revealing that Englishmen actually did go to aid Venice against her enemies. King James gesture of friendship--also quoted previously--is further support of the allegory.

According to the writer, Venice corresponds with the character of Desdemona, who allies herself with the strange, dark, Moorish Othello, or Philip II of Spain. Iago, who engineers the destruction of both principles, is Antonio Perez, exiled minister of Philip. There appeared in 1615 a story, probably based on Othello, which was recognized at the time as an allegorical warning to Venice, the last Italian free state, to avoid alliance with the Moorish adventurer, Philip of Spain. This story is contained

in the Phillipics, by Alessandro Tasson. Winstanley has historical support for her theory: Othello appeared in 1604; James I came out openly on the side of Venice which city-state was then involved in a quarrel with the Pope. Any country which dared oppose Spanish and Papal authority at the same time was certain to have the support of Elizabethans. Shakespeare's company were at that time the King's Players. It does not seem illogical to reason that the play was meant to reflect the Italian--or at least the Venetian--sympathies of the king and many of his subjects. There were other stories treated in the manner Winstanley suggests for Othello. Among these is Spensers' Faerie Queen, a much more complicated allegory than Shakespeare's play could be. Thus the idea of total hatred of all Italians by nearly all Englishmen cannot stand on its own, and the drama reflects that insecurity.

There is no more defamation of Italian character than of Italian scene in Shakespeare. On the contrary, the disillusioned Jaques in As You Like It, who has all the appearance of being a kind of "Italianate Englishman,"¹ expresses dissatisfaction "with everything English." Rosalind tells him (iv.1):

Farewell, Monsieur Traveller: look you lisp and wear strange suits, disable all the benefits of your own country, be out of love with your nativity and almost chide God for making you that countenance you are, or I will scarce think you have swam in a gondola.

1. L. Einstein says (in The Italian Renaissance in England, p.164): "...Marlowe represented him (the Italianate Englishman) in Piers Gaveston, the royal favorite. Shakespeare portrayed him somewhat differently in Jaques, who after a career of libertinage returned from travels abroad disappointed with life and everything English."

Romeo and Juliet are Italians of Shakespeare. Perhaps they, too, are meant to be "really Englishmen in masquerade dress," but Italians they are in the play, and to all the world. Hardly will there be any thought of racial antipathy toward these most famous lovers who must live for all time.

In Romeo and Juliet there are revealed many of the characteristics considered typically Italian. The deeply emotional, imaginative, and charming love-making is not all. There are the masque balls, the family feuds, duels and various other activities which demonstrate Italian temperament. There is evidence of vindictiveness on the part of several of the characters. The subtle Italian art of poisoning is demonstrated also.

Skill in the use of poisons is so attributed to Marlowe's Barabas, in The Jew of Malta, and he lives up to his advance reputation. From the Italian Machiavel he derives his evil art:

Machiavel.. Albeit the world think Machiavel is dead,
 Yet was his soul but flown beyond the Alps;
 And, now the Guise is dead, is come from France,
 To view this land, and frolic with his friends.
 To some perhaps my name is odious;
 But such as love me, guard me from their tongues,
 And let them know that I am Machiavel,
 And weigh not men, and therefore not men's words.
 Admir'd I am of those that hate me most;
 Though some speak openly against my books,
 Yet will they read me, and thereby attain
 To Peter's chair; and, when they cast me off,
 Are poison'd by my climbing followers.

"To view this land, and frolic with his friends," could mean that the devilish character from Italy is associated with Italians who have come to England. However, the line, "Admir'd I am of those that hate me most," indicates that such a monster

served well his purpose of entertainment, regardless of his "nationality."

Possibly the greatest villain in Shakespeare is Iago, and if Winstanley's interpretation be discounted, he must remain an Italian. Here again, the Machiavellian is certainly admired. His ability to inspire hatred demands the respect of his audience.

Shakespeare praises Italians other than those of Venice who appear to be his favorites. Cassio, the Florentine, is a worthy gentleman. Iago says of him (i.1):

One Michael Cassio, a Florentine,
A fellow almost damn'd in fair wife;
That never set a squadron in the field
Nor the division of a battle knows
More than a spinster; unless the bookish theoric,
Wherein the toged consuls can propose
As masterly as he;

Cassio is a scholar.

He is not intemperate (ii.2):

Cassio. Not to-night, good Iago: I have very poor and unhappy brains for drinking: I could well wish courtesy would invent some other custom of entertainment.

His "Italianate" affair with Bianca is lifted above ordinary whoring, but even this, to Elizabethans, perhaps, was not necessarily bad.

He prizes reputation (ii.3):

Cassio. Reputation, reputation! O, I have lost the immortal part of myself, and what remains is bestial.

The representation of Cassio is thus a compliment to the Florentinians.

In The Taming of the Shrew mention is made of more Italian scholars--mathematicians, musicians, scientists:

(ii.1) Gremio...To express the like kindness, myself,
that have been more kindly beholding to you than any,
freely give unto you this young scholar (presenting
Lucentio to Baptista), that hath been studying at Reems;
as cunning in Greek, Latin, and other languages as the other
in music and mathematics:

Whatever else they may have scorned, the Elizabethans held Italian intelligence and scholarliness in high esteem. English efforts to transplant this culture are well-known; is it possible that they really hated what they admired and copied so avidly?

Gremio seeks the hand of Katharine, the Shrew, in The Taming of the Shrew, just mentioned. The matter of the treatment of women in Italian plays calls to mind Iago's opinion of Venetian women. His remarks are not complimentary or flattering (iii.3):

I know our country disposition well;
In Venice they do let heaven see the pranks
They dare not show their husbands; their best conscience
Is not to leave 't undone, but keep 't unknown.

Emilia declares that infidelity in a wife is no more than a husband deserves (iv.3) thereby verifying the statement made by Iago, to a certain extent. To the Elizabethan, these "Italian" women must have been interesting and quite attractive, in spite of declarations of untrustworthiness. There also arises the possibility that the English who claim sweet Juliet would say that Venetians of this type were not English women in "masque attire."

In Love's Labour's Lost (c.1593), La Motte, the French Ambassador is a stock-character of French or Italian comedy.

Some critics consider him a caricature of Florio, the Italian translator.

The murderers in Macbeth bear a faint resemblance to members of the Italian Vendetta, a terror organization. Italian adventurers are known to have wandered over Europe, serving the best pay-master. There is no evidence that reveals the Elizabethans were aware of this particular association, but there is the possibility.

In spite of these instances which show objectionable traits of Italian characters in the drama, nothing has appeared herein thus far to indicate a hatred comparable to that found in the attitude toward the Spaniards.

Characters representing Italians did not distort the language as a means of ridicule. Whenever Italian expressions were used they were merely adopted into English usage to be employed as naturally as possible. So great was Elizabethan literary indebtedness that any Anglicized Italian dialect would have been mockery of their own works. Gascoigne, Shakespeare, Marston, and others made use of Italian expressions¹--even whole sentences, in Marston's Antonio and Mellida--but not for the purpose of satire.

Allusions to Italy and Italians help to reveal the attitude toward them, although none of the next few listed is especially significant;

In Cymbeline (ii.2), Cloten is not casting any bouquets;

1. Einstein, Lewis, The Italian Renaissance in England, p. 366

First Lord. There's an Italian come; and 'tis thought,
one of Leonatus' friends.

Cloten. Leonatus! a banish'd rascal; and he's another
whatsoever he be. Who told you of this stranger?...

...Come, I'll go see this Italian: whil I have
lost today at bowls I'll win tonight of him.

The soldiers in All's Well that Ends Well (iv.1) answer

Parolles in their respective tongues, and among those who respond
there is an Italian.

It is possible that Gremio is complimenting himself as well
as his countrymen when he remarks (The Taming of the Shrew (ii.1),
"An old Italian fox is not so kind, my boy."

There is defiance of the Roman Pope expressed for Eliza-
bethans by King John (iii.1, King John):

Tell him this tale; and from the mouth of England
Add thus much more, that no Italian priest
Shall tithe or toll in our dominions;

The Italians at the Court of Elizabeth were not forced to
accept Protestantism, and the records reveal that the Queen
worshipped in the Roman Catholic way in private.

From the preceding observations the following conclusions
may be drawn:

"Italianate Englishman" seems to be an expression of contempt
for the natives who returned from abroad with the extremes in
affected manners and perverted morals, rather than contempt for
Italian aliens. Most literary forms in English literature were
borrowed from the Italians; Italian sources furnished material for
a great deal that was written by Elizabethans. The romantic spirit
of the drama also was imported, while the classical influence from
Italy appeared also, in some of the works of dramatists like

Ben Jonson. It seems hardly likely that the English harbored hatred for aliens who represented a culture they had so long esteemed. This admiration of things Italian appears in the drama which hardly ever ridicules but quite often praises this nation.

1. Further Development of American Social Thought

The next great period of American social thought began with the

emergence of the social sciences in the late nineteenth century.

The social sciences were the first to be organized into a systematic

body of knowledge, and they were the first to be taught in the

universities. The social sciences were the first to be organized

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CHAPTER VI - CONCLUSION

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CHAPTER VI

Conclusion

1. Further Development of Attitudes toward Foreigners
Revealed in Literature through the Nineteenth Century

The next great period of English drama after the Age of Shakespeare began with the Restoration Era. The drama of the Restoration and of the eighteenth century affords evidence of further development of the attitudes reflected in Elizabethan drama. Since a complete analysis would require another, and perhaps a longer, dissertation, the material offered here must necessarily be brief.

A major premise of this work is the contention that the years of the late sixteenth century were marked by the inclination to greater tolerance for aliens, in a fundamentally sympathetic England.

During the Puritan regime, the Jews were allowed to return. Plays of the Restoration reflect the attitude of the people toward the returning exiles. Louis Newman¹ thinks that strong prejudices against his race still obtained:

"The pro-Jewish stage tradition in England exhibits itself perhaps first in the character of Zabulon in Beaumont and Fletcher's 'The Custom of the Country'; he is a rather low character, in whose mouth, however a praise-worthy sentiment is placed, to the effect that Jews are men, and have compassion when they find fit subjects for their bounty. But it remained for Richard Cumberland (1732-1811) to challenge positively and unflinchingly, the anti-Jewish dramatic tradition. He dared oppose popular prejudice, and produce plays wherein the Jew was portrayed, not only as a villain, but as the leading and heroic figure. His two plays; The Jew, written in 1794, and The Jew of

1. Newman, L. I., Richard Cumberland, N. Y., 1919, (introd.), pp. 1-3

Mogadore, a comic opera, composed in 1808, mark a distinct epoch in English play-writing."

There are some Restoration plays which reveal a more liberal attitude in a manner less ostentatious than that of Cumberland. In Sheridan's The School for Scandal, young Charles Surface is very popular with Jews according to Crabtree (i.1):

Crabtree. If the old Jewry were a ward, I believe Charles would be an alderman; no man more popular there, 'fore gad! I hear he pays as many annuities as the Irish tontine;

In the first scene of Act Three, Rowley is willing to "do Moses (the Jew) justice":

Rowley. This, Sir Oliver, is a friendly Jew, who, to do him justice, has done everything in his power to bring your nephew to a proper sense of his extravagance. ...Here comes the honest Israelite.

Subsequent action allows Moses to live up to all advance notices. At the home of Charles Surface he even is invited to join the roisterers in their drinking. The confirmed usurer is kind, obliging, dignified and genteel. The dramatist satirizes neither his speech nor his appearance.

In The Beggar's Opera (1728), by John Gay (ii.4) Slammekin states:

Slammekin. I, madam, was once kept by a Jew; and bating their religion, to women they are a good sort of people.

These instances are offered as further evidence that the improvement of attitudes toward Jews in the drama, first begun most notably by Shakespeare, had continued. Thus it appears that Newman has overlooked part of the evidence which indicates improvement in attitudes.

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The problem of black racial fusion had been solved in a fairly satisfactory manner by the time when Charles II returned. A black man was actually allowed to marry a white woman on the stage, in Addison's Cato (1713), without suffering the fate of Othello. There is no indication that Prince Juba meets with disaster after his marriage with Cato's daughter.

Mrs. Malaprop's speech in Sheridan's Rivals (i.2, 239-40) reveals the old antipathy still present:

I am sure I hated your poor dear uncle before marriage
as if he'd been a black-a-moor--

in

A. E. Case¹ offers a comment on Macheath, /a sequel to
Gay's Beggar's Opera, which is slightly prophetic of O'Neil's
Emperor Jones:

"In this continuation Polly follows Macheath to the West Indies to which he has been transported for his crimes. He there disguises himself as a Negro, gathers about him a gang of European outlaws, and embarks upon a career of piracy against the English traders and their allies, the Indians."

Thus the Blacks continue to be linked with evil.

An extension of this corroborative ramble farther into the eighteenth century, to include early novels, finds the black man virtually ubiquitous:

From Aphra Behn's Oroonoko to Samuel Johnson's Rasselas, he runs the gamut from well-beaten slave to "noble savage" (in the latter role, also "well-beaten" by moralizing writers to show the "cruelty" of eighteenth century society).

Johnson's biography includes records of his having helped a Negro to win his legal freedom in Scotland. A Negro boy was

1. Case, A. E., Nettleton, C., British Dramatists from Dryden to Sheridan, p. 532

in his service for a time. It continued apparent that the English favored freedom of blacks--to keep them off the English Isle, as far as was possible, for the colonies were much better suited for them.

Matthew Bramble, in Smollett's Humphrey Clinker beats two Negro slaves who travel to Bath with their West Indian master.

Creoles are mentioned--not unfavorably--in The Vicar of Wakefield,¹ by Goldsmith.

In Godwin's Caleb Williams, poor Hawkins indicts his aristocratic persecutor:

"The poorest neger, as a man may say, has some point that he will not part with."

Caleb, the hero, complains:

"I would have submitted to the condition of a West Indian negro, or to the tortures inflicted by North American savages..."

The condition of the black slaves was a source of material for preaching against tyranny. This preaching was done primarily by those who had least to lose through general emancipation. There is no indication here that the Elizabethan attitude, which classed them as undesirable aliens, had improved.

The poor Irish continued to fare poorly, indeed, as the opinion of them did not rise in English estimation:

William Wycherley allows Olivia to say (in The Plain Dealer, ii.1):

"As sluttish and as slovely as an Irish woman bred in France."

Captain O'Cutter is a hopelessly ignorant, stupid, crude, almost contemptible figure in George Coleman's The Jealous Wife.

1. Goldsmith, O., The Vicar of Wakefield, (Everyman Ed.) p. 118

Richard Cumberland later tilts with windmills in attempting a feeble rescue. In The West Indian, his Major O'Flaherty is a fine, noble, honest, and resourceful figure of an old army captain, who speaks good English with hardly a trace of Irish brogue.

There were writers like Maria Edgeworth who presented the Irishman in the light of true appearances--appearances which coincide closely with Elizabethan opinions.

The preceding illustrations of the attitudes of antipathy, fear, and disdain tend to show the continued development and changes in regard to aliens. The attitude of tolerance toward certain foreigners also continued. The treatment of gypsies is noteworthy, of aliens in the vagabond group, for vagabonds they did remain;

Tom Jones, of Henry Fielding fame, while travelling with Mr. Partridge, his trusty Sancho Panza (Book XII, Chapter XII, Tom Jones), encounters a band of gypsies. These picturesque wanderers are celebrating joyously at a wedding in a large barn. Jones and Partridge join the revelers by invitation. Partridge is willingly lured into a dark corner by a pretty, slightly clad gypsy damsel. Her husband discovers the affair in time--or almost in time--but is willing to forget the matter upon the payment of two guineas. The gypsy king who presides over the tribal festivities proves himself a sage character in discovering that the husband had deliberately permitted his wife to slip to an indiscretion, with money for her honor as his object.

Apparently gypsies were still tolerated in Fielding's day; their women were beautiful; and the English were still vulnerable.

Trends of opinion in the attitude toward aliens, as indicated by Elizabethan attitudes in the drama, are found continuing, changing, developing new phases favorably or unfavorably, in the Restoration and in the eighteenth century.

2. General Attitudes From Chaucer to Sir Walter Scott

The problem of tracing the trend of Elizabethan attitudes over a great number of years may be greatly simplified--in an admittedly arbitrary fashion, of course--by concentrating on one particularly large and important group of aliens. The case of the Jews serves best this brief and sketchy operation. This attempt is intended to give a broader perspective of the major problem; the particular "close-up" of which has been the chief objective of this work;

In the early morality plays, Jews were the objects of hatred, scorn, and derision. In 1290, during the reign of Edward I, Most Jews were expelled. However, some accounts of Chaucer's life story reveal him beating a Jew in the neighborhood of the Inns of Court district. His Prioress's Tale constitutes a rather terrible indictment of Jewish cruelty. That this attitude of antipathy prevailed is found evident in liturgical drama, from 1400 (and even much earlier) to 1581. With Lyly and the other preShakespeareans it was continued. In Marlowe's *Barabas*, vilification reached its peak. With Shakespeare's humanizing

of Barabas into his Shylock, thereby creating a better Jew, the tide was turned in favor of the Semitic alien. Moderns who consider all Elizabethans too cruel and stupid to realize that Lopez might have been the victim of a terrible injustice, after all, may be in error. About six hundred, fifty years ago, there were few Jews in England; today there are nearly a million, at least. There was a middle point somewhere; there was a time when the sentiment in favor of their return had its beginning. Shakespeare represents a better Jew than Marlowe's, and Shakespeare as a dramatist was influential; Elizabeth favored the condemned Lopez, and as Queen of England, she undoubtedly had some influence on public opinion. Lopez with all his faults, then, was a martyr, whether it be acknowledged, even by Jews, or not, for at his death a more liberal feeling of sympathy was created. Shakespeare commemorates the beginning of a new attitude of tolerance, and Shylock is his monument to that commemoration.

A culmination into modern respect and tolerance may be seen in some of the works of romanticist Sir Walter Scott. The beautiful and noble Jewess, Rebecca, in Ivanhoe, is a fine tribute of Jews (and of course there are modern Jews who will not agree on this point), for certainly she is a much better representative of her race than the daughter of Shylock. From 1290 to Chaucer, to Marlowe, then to Shakespeare; from Shakespeare to Cumberland and Sheridan, to Scott, then to the present; at the midpoint is Shakespeare, with his Merchant and the Jew of Venice.

3. Elizabethan Influence in Modern Attitudes

Maurice Bourgeois's¹ comment on the attitude toward the stage Irishman in England indicates what modern attitudes have been influenced by Elizabethan estimation of the Irish. The caper-cutting, whiskey-loving, broguish, humourous Teague brandished his shillelagh upon the English boards for years. With the growth of a new Irish nationalism, such insulting representation of this type^{was resented}. The established nations suffer no loss of prestige through public ridicule and bufoonery designed to satirize national characteristics, but a race struggling for recognition can never gain the necessary prestige under such a handicap. England was slow and unwilling to grant the Irish political freedom or any proper respect for a long, long time. England recently fought through a period of horrible warfare--without any appreciable aid from Ireland.

The situation of Jews and Black Folk coincides with that of the Irish in regard to stage representation of ridiculous types. In America, plays like The Merchant of Venice are disappearing from the stage just as Barabas faded into oblivion before the preference of Shylock, and Shylock before the Jew of Cumberland. It is the growth of national pride and sensitiveness to racial insult which has caused this change. This is the spirit that is removing Irish, Jewish and Negro dialect from newspapers, theatres, and radio.

In the case of blacks, the old antipathy to mescegenation still prevails. The English, until the recent war brought alien

1. Bourgeois, Maurice, John M. Synge, and the Irish Theatre, pp.109-10

soldiers, had no serious problem in this respect;¹ possibly it was the "preaching" from the Elizabethan stage expediently supported by Acts of Privy Council which, helped to shift these aliens into far-away colonies. Influence of this attitude is still evident in numerous publications concerned with the deportation American Negroes--back-to-Africa movements, lynching, Jim-Crow, Southern and diplomatic prejudice. Perhaps America should have organized a Privy Council. Such a body might have proved more effective than the Ku Klux Klan or similar inefficient, anti-alien organizations.

4. Summary of Conclusions

In view of the observations, analyses, premises, agreements and refutations presented in this dissertation, the following conclusions may be drawn with some assurance of their validity:

Evidence of the influence of public opinion in the drama offers more enlightenment than the cold facts of history (of which this evidence is a reflection, for the play was the Elizabethan newspaper).

1. Negro soldiers created hundreds of unpleasant situations involving White English women, as excerpts like that which follows testify: (From ANP, March 8, 1947)

"A two-fold program is under way in this country (U.S.), directed by a representative of the African Churches mission of Liverpool, England, to secure financial aid or adoption of 1700 abandoned children of ex-colored GIs stationed in England during the war."

The lead line to this article is significant:

"FINANCIAL AID SOUGHT FOR FORSAKEN BROWN BABIES IN ENGLAND"

Associating with Negro soldiers proved disastrous for these English women; they abandoned the resulting offspring rather than face open disgrace, inconvenience and ostracism.

A clear picture of the historical background of the period is pre-requisite to any attempt to understand what the authors were trying to do with the drama of the period.

Attitudes toward foreigners varied according to race, religion, or nationality. These attitudes range from extreme hatred based on fear and jealousy, to admiration and respect.

Evidence of the influence of Elizabethan attitudes appeared in the drama of the Restoration, especially in regard to Jews, Irishmen and Black Folk.

The representation of foreigners in Shakespearean comedy was usually not unsympathetic. Pure fun and entertainment was the primary objective, although this "fun" often went to rather crude extremes.

The general attitude toward foreigners was, on the whole, featured by some impartiality and tolerance, in comparison with countries like Spain with the terror of Inquisition.

Shakespeare's attitude was more sympathetic than that of several of his more prominent contemporaries.

The contemporaries of Shakespeare (Jonson excepted) pandered somewhat to the taste of the lower classes whose attitude was generally one of contempt.

The Elizabethans solved the problem of black hybridization in a manner practically ignored by the Encyclopedia Britannica, but which is clearly evident in the drama as well as in the records of the A.P.C.

American and British attitudes are by no means as modern as currently (smugly) considered; Elizabethans were more liberal, in some instances, in their treatment of alien races seeking benefits of citizenship.

Certain anti-alien and pro-alien themes are to be found often repeated in frequent and recurrent usage of "harping," preaching, and catch-words, in Elizabethan plays.

Elizabethan drama was not infrequently a political weapon of powerful influence--often influencing the attitudes toward aliens.

More specifically, the following inferences are drawn:

The Spanish were hated as rivals abroad, but their culture was openly admired by the crude, bluff English, who aped their manners, customs and political maneuvers for world domination.

The French were hated abroad, but the intermittent warfare did not make the French alien's life more unbearable.

The death of Doctor Lopez marked the turning point in favor of the return of the Jews.

Only the Irish were objects of purest disdain.

The Dutch were ridiculed in a manner that seems friendly.

The attitude toward the Scotch was at first diplomatically tolerant, then "expediently" tolerant (after the accession of King James I).

Welsh aliens were treated with kindly consideration.

German aliens were received with much more respect than they perhaps merited (or were willing to admit in their own chronicles).

Italians in England who represented the culture of their native land in the "Italianate" sense of degeneracy were not despised by all Englishmen; it was the Englishman who carried his imported Italian manners to impossible extremes whom the common conservatives and Puritans disliked most of all. The English attitude toward the Italian alien was not only sympathetic, but it was also an attitude of mild admiration, to say the least.

APPENDIX

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A LIST OF THE NAMES OF THE
MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

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ABSTRACT

Attitudes toward Foreigners
Reflected in Elizabethan Drama

Elizabethan chronicles reveal many foreigners in England during the years 1588 to 1617. An analysis is made of the drama and its relation with the history of the period for the purpose of determining more exactly the status of aliens in Shakespeare's England:

Chapter I

1. A review of some aspects of the historical background of the period reveals that sixteenth century Englishmen shared a common ancestry with a number of the alien races who came to their country. The kingdom of Protestant Queen Elizabeth was attractive to foreigners principally because it appeared a land of economic opportunity as well as a haven of religious refuge.

2. History has recorded most of the cold facts regarding the treatment of the many immigrants who poured in, but the true spirit of the Renaissance in England is reflected in the drama of the era, for the drama was the real "newspaper" of that day. In the plays of Shakespeare and his fellow dramatists there may be traced the opinion of the public. The attitudes indicated by the evidence of drama and history range from antipathy through toleration to admiration and respect.

Chapter II

Fear appears predominant in the attitude toward Turks, Spaniards, Frenchmen, black men, and Jews, with a decreasing

intensity of that emotion in the attitude toward each race or nation in the order listed here.

1. Since the Crusades the Turks had been known as cruel, treacherous infidels. Through the sixteenth century there had been created an attitude of legendary hatred and horror on the part of Christians. Turkish characters in plays like Robert Greene's Alphonsus, King of Arragon appear to be typical representations of Turks from the English point of view.

2. Spain was the greatest European nation in the sixteenth century. A jealous England recognized the superior grandeur and culture of Spain and sought to increase her own glory by opposing Spanish power at every opportunity. Elizabethan patriotism and envy of the glory of Spain are revealed in Kyd's popular Spanish Tragedy and a number of other plays. On stage and street in London, Spanish aliens were accorded no treatment comparable to the cruelty of the Spanish Inquisition.

3. The English had been expelled from France during the fifteenth century, largely through the efforts of a woman, Joan of Arc. Further historical injury was added to this insult when frequently the French set the Scotch against the English, their nearest of kin. In the drama, ^{point} St. Joan is vilified and the French royal family ridiculed; the ordinary Frenchman is represented as a cowardly, treacherous, noisy, dueling dupe. He is, however, not made to appear entirely ignoble, for French characters like Dr. Caius in The Merry Wives

of Windsor are accepted into English communities.

4. None of the "acceptance" tendered Frenchmen in the drama or in actuality appears in the attitude toward Black Folk. Blacks were fairly numerous in the trading places, especially when the slave trade was at its peak. But Queen Elizabeth and the Privy Council ruled against the importation of blackamoor slaves and sought to remove from the country as many as possible of those already there. The attitude toward the blacks of plays such as Titus Andronicus and Othello is similar to the modern attitude toward Negroes in some countries: there seems to be continuous preaching against miscegenation from the stage.

5. Jews were not numerous. Hatred of them was largely traditional, but potent and real. Vilification of the Jew in drama, from liturgical plays through Shakespeare, could not conceal entirely the fear of Jewish commercial competition nor the envy of certain Jewish abilities and capacities. A Jew, Doctor Lopez, was found guilty of an attempt on the life of Queen Elizabeth. The wave of antisemitism which swept the country influenced the drama, and the Doctor appears in many of the plays of the period, most notably as Barabas in The Jew of Malta and as the more human Shylock of Shakespeare. The appearance of Shylock seems to mark the beginning of a change of feeling which eventually led to removal of restrictions excluding Jews from the realm.

Chapter III

The Attitude toward the Irish which appears in the drama coincides nicely with that which historical analysis leads the observer to expect; the English held the Irish in contempt. As part payment for his successful resistance of all English efforts to "civilize" him, the Irishman is represented on the stage as an ignorant, pugnacious, uncivil, red-nosed, comic brute. The treatment of him seems well illustrated in the characters of Lady Frampul, of Ben Jonson's The New Inn, and Macmorris in Shakespeare's Henry V. In each case, the character appears as a rather ignorant servant of Englishmen.

Chapter IV

There is tolerance in the attitude of the English toward Indians, Gypsies, Scots, and Welshmen:

1. History reveals Indians in London as early as 1530. They were chiefly curiosities such as Trinculo mentions in The Tempest. "Indian" was used in referring to natives of the East Indies as well as of the West Indies and the American mainland.

2. The ^{cabalistic} ~~mystic~~, picturesque gypsies were admired by Englishmen, a number of whom joined their bands. These vagabonds were dirty, roguish, and depredatory, but their value to commoners as a source of various types of entertainment rendered the race more or less acceptable to the general public. Othello displays confidence in their fortune-telling. Theseus's declaration in

A Midsummer Night's Dream (v.1) may be considered a compliment to the beauty of gypsy women.

3. Many Dutchmen came to Elizabethan England. They were usually skilled, capable, steady, and industrious artisans who attracted enmity principally because of the economic changes wrought by their presence in such numbers. In the drama their speech is ridiculed, while their alleged inclination to gross intemperance furnishes material for much sport. Dekker's Shoemaker's Holiday, Iago's mention of a "swag-bellied Hollander" in Othello, Marston's The Dutch Courtezan all reveal no serious antipathy to Dutchmen.

4. There was diplomatic tolerance of Scotch aliens in England: Englishmen found it quite embarrassing to have to fight an enemy at home whenever they went abroad to war. In spite of years of hostile relations the countries grew steadily toward a closer union, until finally a Scotch king sat on the throne of England. The successor to Queen Elizabeth brought with him a flood of Scots who snatched many economic plums from Englishmen. English resentment was expressed in the drama. Eastward Ho, by Jonson, Marston and Chapman is one illustration of this attitude. The drama marks the changes in attitudes, from scorn to expedient praise, from the time of the Spanish Armada to the accession of James I. Especially noteworthy in this respect are 1 Henry IV, Henry V, and Macbeth.

5. Welshmen in England were accepted as being "almost English." Queen Elizabeth herself proudly claimed a Welsh ancestry. There is ridicule of their speech in Henry V, but the same play presents a worthy captain in the character of Fluellen. Jonson's For The Honour of Wales also combines the ridiculous with the laudatory in representing Welshmen.

Chapter V

There was friendly respect and admiration in the attitude toward Russians, Danes, Germans and Italians:

1. The Russian bear in Macbeth seems to symbolize power; the Muscovites mentioned in Love's Labour's Lost are noble persons whose dress and manners were apparently admired by the Elizabethans who probably never saw many of these people.

2. Records reveal only a few Danes present in sixteenth century England. Relations with Denmark were good at that time, and the royal families were linked by marriage. Such representations as the noble Court of Denmark in Hamlet seem complimentary, but also there occasionally appears adverse criticism of Danish alcoholic intemperance in Othello as well as in Hamlet.

3. German aliens were present in considerable numbers. These were generally pedlars and skilled tradesmen, but occasionally learned men and members of the German nobility came as visitors. The German Emperor and his intellectual champion in Greene's Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay are rather imposing figures who, nevertheless, are outwitted by the English. Smith's Hector

of Germany is a play which was especially designed to flatter royal German visitors. Marlowe's Faustus is a German to demand respect.

4. Italian musicians, doctors, traders, bankers, noblemen and philosophers came to Elizabethan England, where they found welcome. The attitude toward these aliens appears to be revealed in such plays as Romeo and Juliet, Othello, and The Merchant of Venice. There was great admiration for things Italian in Renaissance England. This admiration led to extensive imitation by Englishmen. The extremes of this imitation gave rise to scorn which was embodied in the term "Italianate Englishman." However, this appears to be an expression of contempt for the foibles of Englishmen rather than any particular dislike for Italian aliens. Hardly ever is an Italian made ridiculous or the object of invective in Elizabethan drama.

Chapter VI

The type of tolerance predominantly present in the Elizabethan attitudes toward foreigners is similar in many respects to the kind of tolerance which appears in modern American attitudes toward minorities.

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All the sources consulted in the preparation of this essay are not represented in the following list. General references, magazines, and such works are not included; nor was it possible to include references to all critical opinion examined. The purpose of this bibliography is, primarily, to indicate the full title and the edition used in the case of each work cited in the foot-notes, in order to facilitate reference.

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A conscientious effort was made in the writing of this essay to use only plays which were written between the years 1588 and 1617, a period which includes the literary lifespan of Shakespeare. However, occasional necessity made it inconvenient to limit material for analysis entirely to that period or entirely to drama:

CHAPTER II - Fear in the Attitude toward Foreigners Reflected
in Elizabethan Drama

1. Turks

Shakespeare:

Richard III (1594)

Richard II (1595)

The Merry Wives of Windsor (1599)

All's Well that Ends Well (c.1603)

Othello (1604)

Macbeth (1606)

The Jew of Malta (1590-2), Christopher Marlowe

Alphonsus, King of Arragon (printed 1597), Robert Greene

2. Spaniards

The Spanish Tragedy (c.1589), Thomas Kyd

The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus (1588-92), Christopher Marlowe

The Jew of Malta (1592), Christopher Marlowe

The Lady of Babylon (c.1595), Thomas Dekker

Shakespeare:

Love's Labour's Lost (1593)

The Merchant of Venice (1596)

Henry V (1599)

Othello (1604)

3. Frenchmen

Shakespeare:

1,2,3, Henry VI (1590-92)

Richard III (1594)

King John (1594-6)

The Merry Wives of Windsor (1599)

As You Like It (1599-1600)

All's Well that Ends Well (c.1603)

The Massacre of Paris (1593), Christopher Marlowe

Monsieur D'Olive (1606), George Chapman

Bussy D'Ambois (1607), George Chapman

The Hector of Germany, or Palsgrave the Prime Elector
(1612) Wentworth Smith

4. Black Folk

The Masque of Blackness (c.1599), Ben Jonson
Old Fortunatus (1600), Thomas Dekker
The Masque of Beauty (c.1603), Ben Jonson
The Honest Whore, I (1604), Thomas Dekker
The White Devil, or Vittoria Corrombona (1612), John Webster

Shakespeare:

Two Gentlemen from Verona (1592-4)
Love's Labour's Lost (1593)
Titus Andronicus (1593-4)
The Merchant of Venice (1596)
Much Ado about Nothing (1598-1600)
The Merry Wives of Windsor (1599)
Othello (1604)
Sonnets, 127-154 (1593-1598) (Published, 1609)

5. Jews

The Play of the Sacrament (late 15th century)
 "The Prioress's Tale," The Canterbury Tales (1387-1400),
 Geoffrey Chaucer
Ger nutus, old ballad translated by Anthony Munday,
 late sixteenth century
The Jew (1558), of uncertain authorship
Jacob and Esau (1568), authorship uncertain
Euphues (1578), John Lyly
Three Ladies of London (1584), Ed. by Hazlitt in
Dodley's Old Plays
The Ragin' Turks (1589-90), Thomas Goffe
Raigne of Selimus (1594), Thomas Lodge and Robert Greene

Ben Jonson:

The Jew of Malta (1592), Christopher Marlowe
Every Man in His Humour (1595)
Every Woman in Her Humour (1600)
The Honest Whore (1604), Thomas Dekker
Volpone (1605)
The White Devil, or Vittroria Corrombona (1607),
 John Webster
The Alchemist (1610)
Bartholomew Fair (1614)
The Duchess of Malfi (1612-14), John Webster
The Insatiate Countess (1613), John Marston
The Scornful Lady (1616), Francis Beaumont and
 John Fletcher

5. Jews (Continued)

Shakespeare:

The Gentlemen of Verona (1592-4)
I Henry IV (1592)
Love's Labour's Lost (1593)
A Midsummer Night's Dream (1594-6)
The Merchant of Venice (1596)
Much Ado about Nothing (1598-1600)
Macbeth (1606)

CHAPTER III - The Elizabethan Attitude of Disdain for the Irish
Reflected in Drama

Shakespeare:

1,2,3, Henry VI (1590-2)
King John (1594-6)
Richard II (1594-6)
1,2 Henry IV (1597-8)
The Merry Wives of Windsor (1597-1600)
Henry V (1598-9)
Hamlet (1600-1)
Troilus and Cressida (1601-3)
Henry VIII (1612-13)
Macbeth (1606)

Old Fortunatus (1600), Thomas DekkerThe New Inn (1629), Ben Jonson (outside period of essay)CHAPTER IV - The Tolerant Attitude toward Foreigners Reflected
in Elizabethan Drama

1. Indians

Shakespeare:

Love's Labour's Lost (1590-3)
A Midsummer Night's Dream (1594-6)
Tempest (1611-12)
Henry VIII (1612-13)

2. Gypsies

A Midsummer Night's Dream (1594-6)
Othello (1604)
Antony and Cleopatra (1607-8)

3. Dutchmen

Sir Thomas More (1595-96), Anthony Munday
The Merry Wives of Windsor (1599)
Englishmen for My Money (1600-?), William Haughton

3. Dutchmen (Continued)

The Shoemaker's Holiday (1600), Thomas Dekker
Othello (1604), Shakespeare
The Dutch Courtezan (1608), John Marston
The Alchemist (1610), Ben Jonson
The Roaring Girl (1611), Thomas Middleton
A Fair Quarrel (1617) William Rowley, Thomas Middleton

4. Scotchmen

Shakespeare:

A Midsummer Night's Dream (1594-6)
The Merchant of Venice (1594-6)
1 Henry IV (1598)
Henry V (1598-9)
Macbeth (1606)

The Scottish Historie of James IV (1591), Robert Greene
Edward I (1593), George Peele
Eastward Ho (1605), Chapman, Marston, and Jonson

5. Welshmen

Shakespeare:

2,3 Henry VI (1590-2)
Richard III (1593-4)
Richard II (1594-6)
1,2 Henry IV (1597-8)
Henry V (1598-9)
The Merry Wives of Windsor (1597-1600)

For the Honour of Wales (1595-99)
Bartholomew Fair (1614), Ben Jonson
The Valiant Welshman (1615), Robert Armin

CHAPTER V - Friendly Admiration and Respect in the Attitudes toward Foreigners Reflected in Elizabethan Drama

1. Russians

Shakespeare:

Love's Labour's Lost (1590-2)
Henry V (1598-99)
Macbeth (1606)
The Winter's Tale (1610-11)

2. Danes

Shakespeare:

Hamlet (1600-1)
Othello (1604)
Macbeth (1606)

CHAPTER V (Continued)

3. Germans

The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus (1588-92)
The Merry Wives of Windsor (1597-1600)
Othello (1604), Shakespeare
Hoffman (1614), Henry Chettle
The Hector of Germany, or Palsgrave the Prime Elector
 (c.1615), Wentworth Smith

4. Italians

The Jew of Malta (1592), Christopher Marlowe
Edward II (1593), Christopher Marlowe
The White Devil or Vittoria Corrombona (1607), John Webster
The Duchess of Malfi (1612-14), John Webster

Shakespeare:

Love's Labour's Lost (1590-2)
The Merchant of Venice (1594-6)
Romeo and Juliet (1594-7)
The Taming of the Shrew (1594-7)
King John (1594-6)
All's Well that Ends Well (1600-4)
Othello (1604)
Cymbeline (1609-10)

CHAPTER VI - Conclusion

Restoration and eighteenth century drama:

The Plain Dealer (1676), William Wycherley
The West Indian (1771), Richard Cumberland
The Rivals (1775), Richard Brinsley Sheridan
The Jew (1794), Richard Cumberland

In the early novels and in biography:

Oronoko (1698), Mrs. Aphra Behn
Tom Jones (1749), Henry Fielding
Rasselas (1759), Samuel Johnson
The Vicar of Wakefield (1766), Oliver Goldsmith
Humphrey Clinker (1771), Tobias Smollett
The Life of Samuel Johnson (1790), James Boswell
Caleb Williams (1794), William Godwin

Biographical Data
Harry Lee Faggett

The only child of Walter and Lucy Faggett, Harry Lee was born on January 10, 1911, in Greensboro, North Carolina--not far from the home of his first literary hero, O. Henry. However, he began his public school career in Yonkers, New York. The family moved south again in 1920. In 1928 Harry was graduated from Dudley High School at the head of his class and his name was engraved on a scholarship cup of gold.

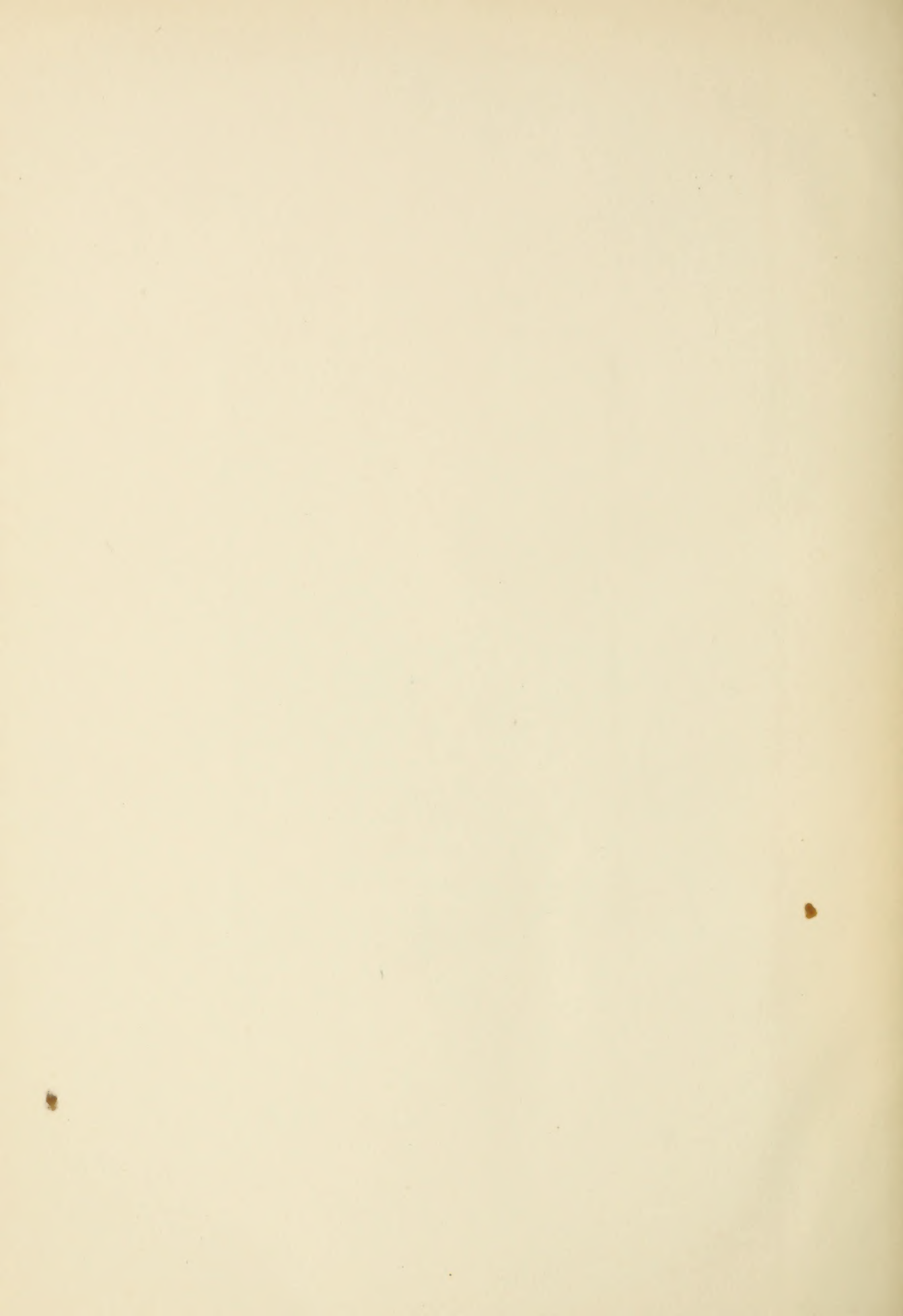
As an undergraduate he majored in French, English and athletics. After graduation, he served for ten years as teacher-coach and part-time instructor of saxophone and clarinet. Ill-health ended a career of coaching, so Harry went back to school--to the Boston University Graduate School. He was graduated in 1945 and immediately found employment as instructor of English at North Carolina College in Durham.

The influence of Dr. Howard Odum (University of North Carolina) and the kindness of Dr. James E. Shepard, president of North Carolina College, sent him away to graduate school again, on a one-year leave-of-absence.

He has served a literary apprenticeship by writing a novel, several short-stories, a few plays and recently a biography of a Negro violinist. None of this work has been accepted for publication.







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